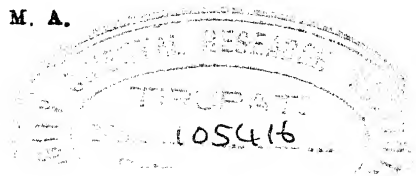


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Supplement

Sumāṅgala-Vilāsini

Edited by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH. D.

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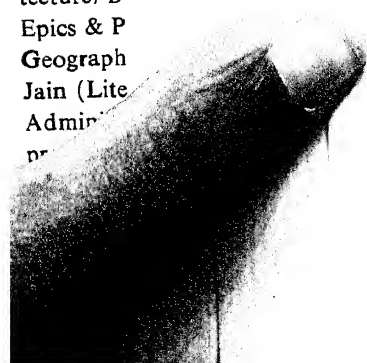
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No. 3

A New Brāhmī Inscription From Mathurā

The inscription, of which an account is given below, was discovered at MATHURA and is now deposited in the PATNA MUSEUM. Through the good offices of Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A., Curator of the Museum, I got an opportunity of examining it in May, 1926. I am indebted to him for an excellent estampage which he kindly presented to me. So far as I am aware, the epigraph has not yet been published.

It consists of only 1 line and covers a space of 4' 3" by 2½". The letters are well-cut and vary in size between 2¼" and 1". A few of them at the beginning of the inscription have disappeared. The remaining ones are in a good state of preservation.

The CHARACTERS are Brāhmī and exactly correspond to those occurring in a donative inscription of Uṭaradāsaka from the Kaṅkāliṭilā mound (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 195 and facsimile), which Bühler places not only before the Kushān but also before the Kṣatrapa inscriptions from Mathurā (see below). The last two letters *thaṃ bho* are written in an ornamental fashion. The LANGUAGE is Prākṛt, the only noteworthy peculiarity being the use of long *ī* in *Īdragibhadā* corresponding to Skt. *Indrāgnibhadrā*. This lengthening of the vowel *ī* in the Prākṛt equivalents of the

word *Indra* occurs also in Lüders' Nos. 96, 250, 419, 621, 1112 and 1140.

Text

.....mam(i)trasa putrasa RAÑO VIṢṢUMITRASA dhitu Īdragi-
bhadāye dhātiye Gotamiye Mitrāye dānaṃ th[am]bh[o]

Translation

"Gift of a pillar by Gotamī Mitrā, who is the mother of Indrāgnibhadrā and daughter of KING VIṢṢUMITRA, son of..... MITRA."

The epigraphic documents of Mathurā of the pre-Kushān age have been grouped by Bühler under three chronological heads on the basis of palæography (*loc. cit.*, pp. 195-96). To the earliest of the three groups he assigns the inscription of Utaradāsaka, which, as already stated, is palæographically very much akin to the present record. Next in order come the inscriptions of the Śaka satraps, and lastly, what are called by him 'the archaic' inscriptions. It may be shown, however, as Bühler himself subsequently admitted (*Ind. Pal.*, trans., p. 40) that the alphabet of the second and third groups is practically the same, and as such they are referable to one and the same period. Bühler assumed that the inscription of Utaradāsaka was of the second century B. C. and one of the earliest of Mathurā inscriptions. But compared with the Besnagar pillar inscription of the time of Antialkidas (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. II), which has since been brought to light and regarded as typical of the second century B. C. writing, the inscription of Utaradāsaka as well as the present one will undoubtedly appear to be of a later date. Again, these two are by no means the earliest ones that we have from Mathurā. The well-known Parkhām image inscription (Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, vol. XX, pl. VI, and Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. VI, 1920, part 2, pls. II-III) and, if Cunningham's eye-copy is to be followed, an inscription of Amogha-rakhita on a Mathurā pillar, now missing

(*A. S. R.*, vol. XX, pl. V, No. I) present an older form of the alphabet.¹ The most noteworthy difference arises in the case of the letters *m* and *v*. These are of the regular Mauryan type with their lower part made into a complete circle, in the Parkhām image inscription. The Mathurā pillar inscription contains no specimen of *v*, but has a *m* exactly of the same type. In the inscription under review and that of Utaradāsaka the lower part of *m* in some cases and *v* in all cases has become transformed into a triangle. The tendency of equalisation of verticals is clear in *y* and *s*. Regarding *y* it should be noted that its middle vertical has no doubt lost its prominence but it has not yet been reduced to the height of the two other verticals. The next stage of the development of alphabet in the Mathurā region is witnessed by the two inscriptions of Śodāsa (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. VI, No. 6. and No. V, pl. XXVI b) and the Mora inscription mentioning the son of Rājuṇa (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. VI, No. 5) which belong to the first century A. D. In the present record the letter *bh* is written with its right hand vertical stretched downwards and is made angular in form; to its right hand vertical a cross-bar is attached; and from the left end of the cross-bar, another vertical hangs down. In the Kṣatrapa inscriptions the right hand vertical of *bh* is at the level of the left one and the latter along with the cross-bar has become one continuous curve. The letter *m* as well as *v* is now perfectly triangular. Interesting also is the form of *y* which has its three verticals equalised. A

1 In *Archæological Survey Report*, 1922-23, p. 165, Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda announces the discovery of an inscribed female statue near Mathurā. Judging from 'the forms of the letters and the technique of the statue' he concludes that this belongs to the same period as the Parkhām image. I have not seen any photo or estampage of the inscription. He also reports about a fragmentary Mathurā inscription of three letters in the Indian Museum (*Ibid.*, pp. 156-67 and fig. 2) which in his opinion is 'assignable to the 1st century B. C. (pre-Kṣatrapa period).'

general characteristic of all the letters is that they are square and squat in appearance and have in almost all cases (except in *l*) equalised verticals. The tendency of such 'equalization' appears for the first time in the Parkhām inscription, in the letter *p* ; but it is now fully developed and becomes a general feature of the Kṣatrapa, and later on, also of the Kushān, alphabets (cf. Bühler, *Ind. Pal.*, trans., p. 40). These are some of the guiding indications by which the three groups of pre-Kushān inscriptions from Mathurā may be differentiated. But what is the probable date of the earliest inscriptions of Mathurā ?

On grounds of art Sir John Marshall has classed the Parkhām image with the sculptural remains of the period immediately following the overthrow of the Mauryas, that is roughly the second century B. C. (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 632-33). This classification gets substantial support from the palæography of the inscription engraved on the pedestal of the image, which directly repudiates the theory of some imaginative scholars who claim for it a date in the sixth century B. C. The use of the angular form of *p*, its nearly equalised verticals as well as the manner in which the *u*-stroke is added to it show that the Parkhām inscription cannot be referred to the period of Aśoka inscriptions (circa 250 B. C.), the Bhaṭṭiprolu casket inscriptions (circa 200 B. C.; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pl. opposite p. 329), the Besnagar inscription of the time of Antialkidas (circa 200 B. C.) or the Ghosundī inscription which is of a date not later than 250 B. C. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVI, p. 25ff. and pl.). In these inscriptions the letter *p* is of the hooked type without any tendency of being angular in form or of equalisation of the verticals. The *u*-stroke, which is added at the bottom of *p*, is not in continuation of the right hand vertical, but at a sufficient distance from it. But in the Parkhām image inscription this stroke is in continuation of the right hand vertical of *p*. The Besnagar inscription of the time of Antialkidas has the older i. e., Aśokan, type of *pu* and the Besnagar inscription of

Bhāgabhadra, the cursive type of *pu* present in this inscription. The well-classified documents of Sāñcī fully bear out that it is only in later inscriptions that the latter type of *pu* makes its appearance. The inscription of Bhaṇḍuka from Stūpa I at Sāñcī (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 384, No. 256 and pl. opposite p. 369) and an inscription on the ground railing of the same (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. 3, No. 12) are on palæographic grounds other than these, assignable to an age earlier than the inscriptions of Siri Sātakaṇi on the south gate of Sāñcī Stūpa I and the inscription of Kurara Nāgapiya on its west gate (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. I, pl. VI, Nos. 1-2). The first two records contain the Mauryan type of *pu* and the other two the cursive *pu* occurring in the present inscription. This later form of *pu* is shared also by the Bharaut gateway (*Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. V, No. 20), the Hāthigumphā (*J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917, pl. opposite p. 472) and the Pabhosa, inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 242-43 and pls). As none of these inscriptions containing the cursive form can be proved to be earlier than the second century B. C. the Parkhām inscription cannot be assigned to an earlier epoch. Moreover, it cannot be placed anterior to the second half of the second century B.C. being later than the Besnagar pillar inscription of the time of Antialkidas. Thus the date of the inscription of Utaradāsaka and the present one should be placed later than the second half of the second century B. C. and earlier than the first century A.D., the period of the Śaka Satraps of Mathurā. The first century B.C. is thus the most plausible date for the two records.

The inscription testifies to the existence of a king called Viṣṇumitra, in the first century B. C. That he ruled over the Mathurā region is very likely, judging from the findspot of the inscription, although it is by no means certain. Coins bearing the names of Mitra kings in Brāhmī characters have been found in Northern Punjab beyond Lahore, at Kosām near Allahabad, in Rohilkhand, at Mathurā and at Oudh. One of the coins from Rohilkhand bears the name of a

Viṣṇumitra (*Viṣṇumitasa*, Cunningham, *C.A.I.*, p. 84 and pl. VII, fig. 21) and it is not improbable that he is identical with king Viṣṇumitra mentioned in the present record. His father's name also ended in *mitra*; but the damaged condition of the stone, exactly where his name was inscribed, has made its restoration impossible.

N. G. MAJUMDAR

The Early Pallavas of Kāñci

The object of this paper is to settle, if possible, the genealogy of the early Pallavas of Kāñci. By early Pallavas I mean the Pallavas who lived before Siṃhaviṣṇu (c. 600 A.C.). Mr. H. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī and Dr. G. J. Dubreuil have given different and irreconcilable schemes in regard to this genealogy, and the scheme of the former has been adopted by Messrs. S. Kṛṣṇasvāmi Ayyangār and K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar. But Dr. Dubreuil's scheme has as yet met neither with the acceptance nor even consideration of any other scholar. I venture to think that neither of the schemes is wholly correct, as they are based on an insufficient consideration of the evidence available to us. I propose to give first a summary in chronological order of all the original documents on which the genealogy is sought to be based, and then to attempt a reconstruction of the genealogy, pointing out step by step where Messrs. Śāstrī and Dubreuil have gone astray. It is hoped that the genealogy I propose will be found to be in perfect harmony with all the evidence available to us, and will prove to be at least a further step towards the final determination of early Pallava genealogy.

The documents, fifteen in number, are summarised below. The first three alone are in Prākṛt; the rest are in Sanskrit. All belong to Pallavas of Bharadvāja *gotra*.

1 The Māyidavolu plates of Yuva-Mahārāja Śiva-Skanda-

varman dating from Kāñci in the reign of his unnamed predecessor (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. vi, p. 84).

2 The Hirahadagalli plates of Mahārāja Śiva-Skandavarman dating from Kāñci in his own reign, and referring to his father as Bappadeva (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 2).

3 The Guṇṭūr plates of Cārudevī, wife of Yuva-Mahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman, dating in the reign of Vijaya-Skandavarman, and referring to her son by a name of which only the last two letters *kura* are legible, but which Dr. Hultzsck proposes to read as Buddhyaṅkura (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 143).

4 The Darśi plates of the unnamed great-grandson of Virākūrcavarman dating from Daśanapura (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 397).

5 The Omgoḍu no. 1 plates (*Ann. Rep. Ep. Mad.*, 1915-16, pt. 2, no. 3) give the following succession :—Kumāraviṣṇu, Skandavarman, Viravarman, and Skandavarman and date from Tāmrāpa. Here, as elsewhere, the succession is always from father to son, unless the contrary is indicated.

6 The Uruvupalli plates, dating from Palakkāḍa in Siṃhavarman's reign (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, p. 50) give :—Skandavarman, Viravarman, Skandavarman, Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa.

7 The Omgoḍu no. 2 plates (*Ann. Rep. Ep. Mad.*, 1915-16, pt. 2, no. 4) give :—Viravarman, Skandavarman, Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman.

8 The Pikira plates, dating from Menmātura (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 159) give :—Viravarman, Skandavarman, Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman.

9 The Māṅgalūr plates, dating from Daśanapura (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, p. 154) give :—Viravarman, Skandavarman, Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman.

10 The Cūra plates (*Ann. Rep. Ep. Mad.*, 1913-14, pt. 2, no. 1) give :—Skandavarman, Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman, Viṣṇugopavarman.

11 The Cendalūr plates, dating from Kāñci (*Ep. Ind.*,

vol. viii, p. 233) give :—Skandavarman, Kumāra-
viṣṇu, Buddhavarman, Kumāra-
viṣṇu.

12 The Udayendram plates, dating from Kāñci (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 142) give :—Skandavarman, Siṃhavarman, Skandavarman, Nandivarman.

13 The Amarāvati pillar inscription (*South Ind. Insc.*, vol. i, no. 32) gives the relationship only once :—Mahendrarvarman ; Siṃhavarman ; Arkavarman ; Ugravarman ; Siṃhaviṣṇu ; his son Nandivarman ; Siṃhavarman, who was a Buddhist and ruled long.

14 The Vāyalūr inscription (no. 368 of 1908, Madras) gives only a string of names, and never their relationships :—Pallava, Aśoka, Harigupta, Āryavarman, 2 or 3 illegible names, Kālinda, Jayamalla, Ekamalla, Vimala, Konkaṇi, Kālabhartā, Cūtapallava, Virakūrca, Candrarvarman, Karāla, Viṣṇugopa, Skandamūla, Kāṇagopa, Virakūrca, Skandavarman, Kumāra-
viṣṇu, Buddhavarman, Skandavarman, Kumāra-
viṣṇu, Buddhavarman, Skandavarman, Viṣṇugopa, Viṣṇudāsa, Skandavarman, Siṃhavarman, Viravarman, Skandavarman, Siṃhavarman, Skandavarman, Nandivarman, Siṃhavarman, Siṃhavarman, Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman, Siṃhaviṣṇu.

15 The Velūrpālaiyam plates of Nandivarman, son of Dantivarman (*South. Ind. Insc.*, vol. II, no. 98) give :—Kālabhartā, Cūta-Pallava, Virakūrca, Skandasīṣya, Kumāra-
viṣṇu who took Kāñci, Buddhavarman who defeated the Coḷas ; then several unnamed kings, including Viṣṇugopa ; then Nandivarman ; then Siṃhavarman ; his son Siṃhaviṣṇu who occupied the Coḷa country.

From the above, it will be seen that the Vāyalūr inscription gives the fullest genealogy and would be invaluable, if only it were also reliable. Dr. Dubreuil in fact bases his scheme mostly upon its account. Unfortunately, however, it fails to state the mutual relationship of the numerous kings it mentions and what is more serious it repeats the names, not only of several individuals, but even of entire groups ; and even Dr. Dubreuil uses it only by arbitrarily selecting certain

successions and rejecting others, irrespective of their places in the inscriptions. Any scheme, therefore, based entirely or even largely on this inscription would be pretentious and misleading. I therefore propose to ignore it altogether, and base my scheme only on the other evidence available.

The Velūrpalaiyam plates (no. 15) inform us that Vīrakūca attained the insignia of royalty by marrying a Nāga princess. This means that he was the first ruling king of the dynasty, and it was his grandson Kumāraviṣṇu who, as the same plates inform us, took Kāñci for the first time. As Kāñci was an ancient Coḷa city, it must have been from the Coḷas that Kumāraviṣṇu wrested Kāñci. This inference is confirmed by the fact that his son Buddhavarman is said in the same plates to have defeated the Coḷa army, evidently in an attempt to recover Kāñci. We may therefore safely infer that none of the Pallavas of Bharadvāja *gotra*, who ruled at Kāñci, including the donors of the Prākṛt plates, could have lived before Kumāraviṣṇu. Failing to recognise this obvious point, both Mr. Śāstri and Dr. Dubreuil have gone astray.

It is admitted on all hands that the donors of the Prākṛt plates must have lived before the donors of the Sanskrit plates, for the reason that Sanskrit came to be used in inscriptions only about the period, when Prākṛt had ceased to be spoken. We may reasonably identify the Śiva-Skandavarman of plates nos. 1 and 2, and both of them with Vijaya-Skandavarman of plates no. 3, as they were all kings of Kāñci, and Pallavas of Bharadvāja *gotra*, and as they all, from the close similarity of their scripts and languages, evidently belong to the same period. The difference in their names is slight and immaterial, as both Śiva and Vijaya are only optional prefixes used by Kadamba (*Epi. Carn.*, vol. v, p. 245 ; vol. vii, p. 7) and Pallava kings.

The father of Śiva-Skandavarman is referred to as Bappa-deva (plates no. 2), but this is only an honorific title, and not a proper name, as may be seen from early Nepāl and Valabhi inscriptions. Even if we accept Buddhyaṅkura as the name

of Buddhavarman's son (plates no. 3), it is evidently only a title, not a proper name. We have therefore to identify only Skandavarman and his Yuva-Mahārāja Buddhavarman. I propose to identify the latter with the only known Buddhavarman of the Sanskrit plates, who is said to have defeated the Coḷas.

The Velūrpālaiyam plates and the Cendalūr plates (nos. 15 and 11) have 3 successions in common Skandavarman, Kumāra-
viṣṇu and Buddhavarman, as Skandavarman is obviously only a variant form of Skandaśiṣya. The following succession may therefore be taken as established :—Kālabhartā, Cūta-Pallava, Virakūrca, Skandaśiṣya or Skandavarman I, Kumāra-
viṣṇu I, Buddhavarman and Kumāra-
viṣṇu II. The existence of kings named Virakūrca and Skandaśiṣya is confirmed by the Darśi plates (no. 4) and by a Tirukkaḷuk-
kunram inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, p. 277).

On the other hand, plates nos. 5 to 10 give us a **continuous** succession for 7 generations, for every two **successive** plates have at least 3 continuous generations in common. The following succession also may therefore be taken as established :—Kumāra-
viṣṇu, Skandavarman, Viravarman, Skanda-
varman, Y. M. Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman and Viṣṇugopavar-
man. It is accepted by Messrs. Śāstrī and Dubreuil also ; and it is immaterial that the Cūra plates (no. 10) alone call Y. M. Viṣṇugopa a Mahārāja. We may at the most infer that Y. M. Viṣṇugopa was a king in fact, if not in name, and, as will be seen below, he ruled over the Telugu districts.

The Uruvupalli plates (no. 6) of Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇu-
gopa are dated in the reign of a king Siṃhavarman. It has therefore been rightly inferred that this Siṃhavarman must have been the elder brother of Y. M. Viṣṇugopa ; and, as the father of the Siṃhavarman of the Udayendram plates (no. 12) is, like the father of Y. M. Viṣṇugopa, a Skandavarman, the first Skandavarman of the Udayendram plates has rightly been identified with Skandavarman, the father of Y. M. Viṣṇu-
gopa. In this view, the group Siṃhavarman, **Skandavarman**

and Nandivarman become the contemporaries of Y. M. Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman and Viṣṇugopavarman. The plates of the latter group all date from Palakkāḍa, Meninātura and Daśanapura in the Telugu districts, while it is provable that all the kings of the former group were kings of Kāñci. Sarvanandin's *Loka-vibhāga*, a Jain work, dates itself in Śaka 380 = 458 A.C. and in the 22nd year of Siṃhavarman, king of Kāñci. The Penukeṇḍa plates (*Epi. Ind.*, vol. xiv, no. 24) also indicate that in the 5th century A.C. two Pallava kings Siṃhavarman and his successor Skandavarman ruled at Kāñci; and the Udayendram plates of Nandivarman date from Kāñci. Thus Siṃhavarman, Skandavarman and Nandivarman were all kings of Kāñci, and contemporaries of Y. M. Viṣṇugopa, Siṃhavarman and Viṣṇugopavarman, who ruled over the Telugu districts.

We have now to bring into mutual relationship the kings of the Prākṛt plates, the Cendalūr and the Velūrpālaiyam plates on the one hand, and the kings of plates nos. 5 to 10 and the Udayendram plates on the other. It is admitted on all hands that the Cendalūr plates agree very closely with the Uruvupalli plates both in phraseology and palaeography. Dr. Hultzsch has in fact pointed out that whole sentences are common to both, and both Dr. Hultzsch and Dr. Dubreuil agree that they cannot be separated from each other by any large interval of time. On the other hand, the Udayendram plates are certainly later than the Cendalūr plates. The kings, moreover, of the Cendalūr plates, i. e. Kumāraviṣṇu I, who took Kāñci, Buddhavarman, who defeated the Coḷas, and Kumāraviṣṇu II whose Cendalūr plates date from Kāñci, were all kings of Kāñci, like the kings of the Udayendram plates. Kumāraviṣṇu II, therefore, could have ruled neither after, nor at the same time as Siṃhavarman of Kāñci, but only **before** his time. On the other hand Kumāraviṣṇu II of the Cendalūr plates could not have lived long before this Siṃhavarman, in whose reign the Uruvupalli plates are dated. We **must** therefore identify

Kumāraviṣṇu of Omgoḍu no. I plates (no. 5) with Kumāraviṣṇu I and not Kumāraviṣṇu II of the Cendalūr plates.

The result is that Buddhavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu II become the contemporaries of Skandavarman and his son Vīravarmān. This Skandavarman must have been the elder brother of Buddhavarman and identical with the Skandavarman of the Prākṛt plates, in whose reign Buddhavarman was Yuva-Mahārāja. It appears that after Skandavarman's death his brother Buddhavarman and the latter's son Kumāraviṣṇu II were kings of Kāncī. This inference is confirmed by the facts that the Omgoḍu no. 1 plates (no. 5) refer to Vīravarmān without any royal titles and date in his son Skandavarman's reign from Tāmbrāpa and not from Kāncī. In all probability Vīravarmān died in his father's life-time, and so Buddhavarman became first Yuva-Mahārāja and then king, and was succeeded by his own son Kumāraviṣṇu II at Kāncī, while his grand-nephew Skandavarman ruled at Tāmbrāpa.

Now a Viṣṇugopa of Kāncī is said (Fleet, *Gupta Insc.* no. 1) to have fought with Samudragupta, and probably turned back the tide of his southern conquests ; and as Siṃhavarman was anointed in $458 - 22 = 436$ A.C. this Viṣṇugopa lived nearly a century before Siṃhavarman. He must therefore have been identical with Kumāraviṣṇu I, or, what is more probable, his younger brother and viceroy on the Kṛṣṇā.

We have now to deal with the Amarāvati inscription (no. 13). Not being able to reconcile it with the other documents, all scholars have hitherto persisted in ignoring it, though it is very ancient in date, and, being a pillar inscription, it deserves greater credit than copper-plate grants, which are liable to forgery. I propose to identify Siṃhavarman, the last king of this inscription, with the father of Siṃhaviṣṇu. Dr. Dubreuil, on the contrary, prefers to make Siṃhaviṣṇu's father the son of Viṣṇugopavarman, on the authority of the unreliable Vāyalūr inscription. I have shown that the Velūrpālaiyam plates are more reliable than the Vāyalūr inscription, and they give the succession Nandivarman.

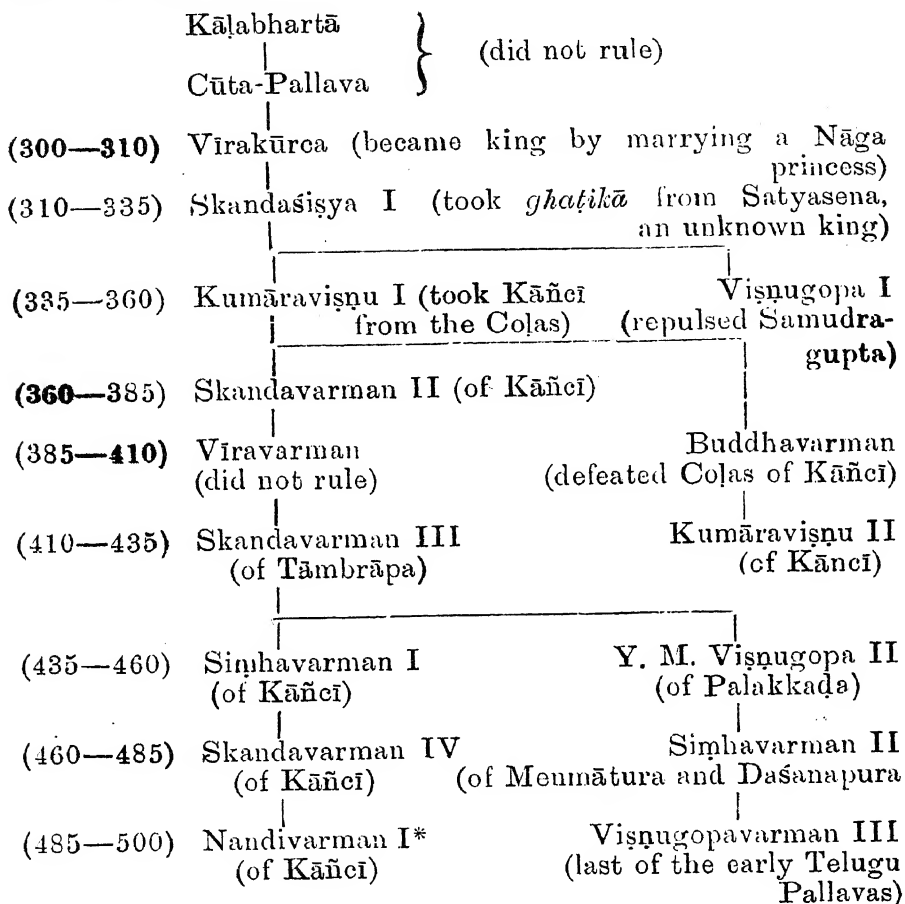
Simhavarman, Simhaviṣṇu. This Nandivarman cannot be the grandson of Simhavarman of Kāñci, who lived nearly a century earlier in c. 590 A.C. It is therefore gratifying to note that the Amarāvati inscription gives the same succession Nandivarman, Simhavarman. Simhaviṣṇu was thus the descendant of a collateral Pallava dynasty, who ruled at Amarāvati on the Kṛṣṇā. My hypothesis fits better than Dr. Dubreuil's with the northern origin of Pallava rock-cut temples and Pallava names of persons and places. I have pointed out elsewhere (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. xiii, p. 574) that the names Simhapura of some Pallava towns and Mahendra of some Pallava kings, and the title Mahāmegha of Mahendrarman, found in his Kāñci inscription, indicate that the Simhaviṣṇu dynasty was in some way related to Kalinga, whose old capital was Simhapura, whose chief mountain was Mahendra, and whose Khāravela dynasty bore the title Mahāmeghavāhana. I may add that the names Citramegha of the Māmaṇḍūr tank, and Vairamegha of a king (Madras Insers. nos. 150, 152 of 1916), a feudatory (no. 158 of 1912), a city (nos. 253 to 258 of 1913), and a channel (458 and 465 of 1908) in the Pallava country point in the same direction. We are now in a position to state that these affinities are due to the fact that Simhaviṣṇu's ancestors were rulers of Amarāvati, and, perhaps feudatories of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the names Mahendrarman and Simhaviṣṇu, peculiar to the Simhaviṣṇu dynasty, are found in the Amarāvati list of kings also. We may therefore safely conclude that Simhaviṣṇu was the descendant of the Amarāvati kings, seven of whom ruled from c. 425 to c. 600 A.C.

Now Narasimhavarman I's capture of Vātāpi took place in his 13th year (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix, p.99) and shortly before the occasion in 655 A.C. of W. Calukya Vikramāditya I. Narasimha therefore began to rule in c. 640 A.C., and, allowing some 40 years for his predecessors Simhaviṣṇu and Mahendrarman I, Simhaviṣṇu's accession may be dated in c. 600

A.C. But the early Pallava dynasty came to an end in c. 500 A.C. with Nandivarman of Kāñci and Viṣṇugopavarman of the Telugu districts. The Velūrpālaiyam plates, in fact, end the list of early Pallavas with Viṣṇugopa.

It now remains to find out, if possible, the cause of the extinction of the early Pallava dynasty. We have seen already that the Pallavas were not native rulers of Kāñci, but got it by conquest from the Coḷas, who would naturally be awaiting an opportunity to recover their old territory. This opportunity came to them, when the Pallavas interfered in the succession to the Kadamba throne. We learn from a Kadamba grant (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 29) that Caṇḍadaṇḍa of Kāñci supported the claims of Viṣṇuvarman to the Kadamba throne against his cousin Ravivarman, with the result that Viṣṇuvarman lost his life, and Caṇḍadaṇḍa his throne. The synchronism of Caṇḍadaṇḍa with Ravivarman (c. 500 A.C.) indicates that Caṇḍadaṇḍa was only a title of Nandivarman of Kāñci. The Coḷas, either in conjunction with Ravivarman, or on their own account, seem to have recovered the Kāñci country. The Coḷa plates ascribe this recovery of Kāñci to Karikāla. The Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates say that Karikāla, who embanked Kāverī, also renovated Kāñci (*South Ind. Insc.*, vol. iii, p. 395). Again, Śrikanṭha Coḷa, whom the Anbil plates of Sundara Coḷa (c. 950 A.C.) mention as an *ancestor* of Vijayālaya (c. 850 A.C.), claims to have been a descendant of Karikāla, who embanked Kāverī and defeated Trilocana Pallava (Sewell, *List of Inscriptions*, no. 174). Since the Pallavas from Kumāraviṣṇu I to Nandivarman ruled continuously at Kāñci, Trilocana Pallava, from whom Karikāla wrested Kāñci, must have been another title of Nandivarman, the last of the early Pallavas, and, since this Karikāla is said to have embanked Kāverī, he must be identical with Karikāla, the hero of many of the Tamiḷ Sangham lyrics.

The results of this brief enquiry into the genealogy of the early Pallavas may now be tabulated as follows :—



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* Titles Caṇḍaṇḍa and Trilocana ; ally Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman ; foes Kadamba Ravivarman and Karikāla Coḷa ; last of the early Pallavas ; after his time, during the 6th cent. A.C., Kāñci country under the Coḷas.

Note. The dates given above are only approximate, being based on 436 A.C. for the accession of Siṃhavarman I, and on the average of 25 years each for all the other kings, except the first and the last, who are given less periods for rounding off the figures.

The Trade of India

(from the earliest period up to the 2nd century A. D.)

IV

XXIII. Beyond Bharukaccha was Dachinabades (Dakṣiṇāpatha), correctly derived by the author of the *Periplus* from Dachinos (dakṣiṇa), the south, which was the empire of the great Andhra emperors, extending as far as the Ganges.¹ The chief market-towns of Dakṣiṇāpatha were Pathana (Paithān) and Tagar (Tér). To Bharukaccha were taken "by waggon roads and through vast places that have no proper roads at all [across the ghats], cornelion from Paithān, and from Tagara "much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth (tusser ?) [woven, as now, in the east coast districts], and other merchandise brought locally from the regions along the sea coast,"² i.e. the "coast country" at the mouths of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, the Pennir and the Kāveri. Suppara and Kalliena (Kalyāṇa) were the ports of the Andhra kings, the latter recently constituted "a lawful market-town," i. e. one, whose taxes were collected by government officers "in the time of the elder Sarganus, but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed and Greek ships, landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard".³ Sarganus is perhaps Sātakarṇi, the title of the Andhra kings and the *Periplus* refers to a period when the later Andhra king attempted to divert the trade of Bharukaccha to their own ports, so as to profit by the shipping dues, but were foiled by the Śaka-Pallavas who, a few years after, squeezed the Andhra power out of Western India. The *Periplus* mentions six other

¹ *Periplus*, 50.

² *Ib.* 51.

³ Schoff's attempt to identify Sandares with Sundara Sātakarṇi is unconvincing. He reigned only for one year.

Andhra ports further down on the west coast ; but they were only minor ones, because this part of the coast was infested by pirates.

XXIV. South of Dakṣiṇāpatha was Limyrike ; Ptolemy makes this Dimirike. Both forms are the result of the uncouth attempts of the Greeks to write *Tamilakam*, the home of the Tamils. Its first markets were Naura and Tyndis, "and Muziris and Nelcynda, which are now of leading importance. Tyndis is of the kingdom of Kerobothra," the Keralaputra of Aśoka's Rock Edicts (II). Since Tyndis was the first Keralaputra port, Naura might have been the port of Satiyaputra, mentioned along with Keralaputra by Aśoka, if so, it is probably Cannanore, for at Kottayam, ten miles east of this place, "5 cooly loads" of Augustan coins, several of Antonius, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Agrippina, and Nero have been found,¹ and Cannanore even today exports pepper and cotton fabrics. Tyndis is certainly Tonḍi of the early Tamil literature, which Kanakasabhai Pillai places near the modern Quilandy,² but Schoff, near Ponnāni.³ Kurungoliyūr Kīlār, an ancient Tamil poet says that Tonḍi "was bounded by groves of cocoanut trees, bearing heavy bunches of fruits, a wide expanse of rice fields, verdant hills, bright sandy tracts and a salt river, whose glassy waters are covered with flowers of brilliant colours."⁴ Muziris is Musiri of the Tamil poets, at the mouth of the Periyār. Its ancient trade is thus described by a very early Tamil poet, Erukkāttūr Tāyaṅgaṇṇanār :—"The thriving town of Musiri where the beautiful large ships of the Yavanas bringing gold, come splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar, which belongs to the Ceraḷa and return laden with pepper."⁵ Paraṇar, another poet, says, "Fish is bartered for paddy which is brought in baskets to the houses ; sacks of pepper are

1 J. R. A. S., 1904, pp. 623-629 (Sewell).

2 *The Tamils 1800 years ago*, p. 17.

3 *Periplus*, p. 204

4 Translated by Kanakasabhai Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

5 *Akam* 148, tr. Kanakasabhai Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

brought from the houses to the market ; the gold received from ships in exchange for articles sold is brought to shore in barges, at Musiri, where the music of the surging sea never ceases, and where Kuṭṭuvan (the Cera king) presents to visitors the rare products of the seas and mountains."¹ Neleynda is the present Nirnom, on the south coast of Aleppey ; it is called Niganda and Nilarnam in the Malayalam work, *Keralot-patti*.² It is "of another kingdom, the Pandian. This place is situated on a river. There is another place at the mouth of this river, the village of Bacare,"³ now called Porkāḍ. The exports of this place were pepper, produced in "a district called Cottonara,"⁴ (Kuṭṭanāḍu of ancient Tamil literature), pearls from the gulf of Manuar, ivory from the forest near, silk cloth from China by way of Tibet, the Ganges, and the Bay of Bengal, "spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds, sapphires, and tortoise-shell," the last from Malacca, and the islands along the coast of Damirika."⁴ "There are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coin ; topaz, thin clothing, not much ; figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead, wine, not much, but as much as at Barygaza ; realgar and orpiment ; and wheat enough for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there".⁴ The other Pandian ports were Pyrrhon, Balita, Comari (Cape Comorin, where "came those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy [a funny way of describing Sannyāsīs] ; and women also did the same, for it is told that a goddess once dwelt here and bathed"⁵ and Colchi (Korkai), "where the pearl fisheries are ; (they are worked by condemned criminals)".⁶

XXV. Beyond this was the "coast country" which is the name the *Periplus* gives for the Coḷa-nāḍu. It has a

1 *Puram* 343.

2 P. J. Thomas in *Bhāṣā Poṣinī*. Jan. and Feb., 1917.

3 *Periplus*, 54-55

4 *Ib.*, 56.

5 *Ib.*, 58

6 *Ib.*, 59

region inland called Argaru (Uraiyūr, through its ancient Sanskrit form *Uragapuram*), where, "and nowhere else, are brought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts ; and from there are exported muslins, those called Argaritic."¹ Other Cola ports were Camara (probably Point Calmere), Poduca (probably Pukar or Kaveripattanam) and Sopatma (Negapatam ?), where plied small coasting boats, "other very large vessels made of single logs bound together, called *saṅ-gara*" and still larger vessels, "which make the voyage to Chryse (Malacca) and to the Ganges, called *colandia*. There are imported into these places everything made in Damirika, and the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here, together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirika and of those that are carried through Paralia" (Travancore).²

The author of the *Periplus* did not sail beyond the Pandian port of Korkai, and his account of the East coast ports which had an extensive trade with Burma, Malacca and China is very meagre. He only mentions Massala (Masulipatam), where, as later in Marco Polo's times "a great quantity of muslins is made"³ and Dosarene (Orissa), "yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic." The East coast muslins and Orissan ivory were carried across the country which then was under the sway of the Andhras to Tagara and Paiṭhān to Bharukaccha in the author's days. After Dosarene, he mentions the Ganges port, by which he means Tāmralipti. "Through this place are brought malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls and muslin of the finest sorts which are called Gangetic,"⁴ (no doubt the muslins of Dacca which were so fine that a whole piece could go into a goose-quill).

XXVI. The import trade described in the *Periplus* was due to the great prosperity of Rome in the Imperial age from Augustus to Nero and the consequent unrestrained indulgence in Eastern luxuries on the part of the wealthy. It will

1 *Periplus*, 59.

2 *Ib.*, 60.

3 *Ib.*, 62.

4 *Ib.*, 63.

be remarked that of these, the perfumes alone came from North India, a part of the cotton cloth from the Deccan, and a part of the ivory from Orissa ; but the rest of the cloth and the ivory, and spices, pepper, precious stones, ebony and sandalwood, were all from the Tamil land. The most highly prized of the stones was the beryl, mined in Paḍiyūr in the Coimbatore district. "It is for this reason probably that so many Roman coins have been found in and near the Coimbatore district and at Madura, the capital city of the Pandyan kingdom¹. Of the period of 80 years from Augustus to Nero, "in Southern India, we have in actual numbers 612 gold coins and 1187 silver, besides hoards discovered which are severally described as follows :—of gold coins, "a quantity amounting to five cooly-loads," of silver coins "a great many in a pot," (2) "about 500 in an earthen pot," (3) "a find of 163," (4) "some," (5) "some thousands enough to fill five or six Madras measures," i. e. perhaps a dozen quart measures ; also (6) of metal not stated, a "pot-full." These coins are the product of fifty five separate discoveries mostly in the Coimbatore and Madura districts. In the Cola country also there have been numerous finds, of which the most important is the one made at Kārukkākkurichi in the present Pudukottah territory of 501 coins of every Roman Emperor from Augustus to Vespasian.² In Northern India very few coins of Augustus or Tiberius have been discovered.

XXVII. The great emporium of this trade was Alexandria, where a colony of Indians was established to carry on this trade. Dion Chrysostom, the orator, addressing the Alexandrians about 100 A.D., said, "I see in the midst of you not only Greeks, Italians, Syrians, Libyans, Cilicians, Ethiopians, Arabians, but even Bactrians, Scythians, and Persians, and some Indians who view the spectacles with you and are with

¹ *JRAS.*, 1904, pp. 595-597.

² Radhakrishna Iyer, *General History of Pudukottah State*, pp. 50-51.

you on all occasions".¹ Chrysostom also gives an account of the geography of India and the adjacent countries as described in the Purāṇas and adds that "these statements are not fictitious, for some of those who come from India have ere now asserted them to be facts and some few do come in pursuit of trade. Now these do business with the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, but this class of Indians is not held in repute, and are reprobated by the rest of their countrymen."² He then gives an elaborate account of the men that take gold from ants larger than foxes, first described by Herodotus and since repeated by many Greek and Roman authors.

XXVIII. There was also a colony of Roman merchants in Madura, for besides the gold and silver coins above referred to, which, no doubt, were imported as the *Periplus* says, innumerable copper coins have been found in Madura in the waste places about the town and the sandy bed of the river in the dry months." This seems to imply that these coins "were in daily circulation and were dropped carelessly, or otherwise lost by the inhabitants of the place." These copper coins must have been brought to the colony by Roman merchants, for they could certainly not have been imported; their bulk would have made shipping accomodation impossible. The Peuteringian tables which appear to have been copied from fresco-paintings in Rome were executed in the IInd century A.D. and placed in Muziris in a temple of Augustus. Ptolemy about 150 A.D. says that he got his information about the geography of India from persons who had resided in India. All these facts prove that Roman commercial agents lived in India in this age.

XXIX. After the time of Nero, South Indian trade with Rome declined. "Of ten Emperors of Rome who flourished between Nero and Caracalla, only 32 gold coins can be counted

1 *Or.* xxxii, 373, McCrindle, *Anc. Ind.*, p. 177.

2 *JRAS.*, 1904, pp. 601-614 (Sewell).

as having been found in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies," the other finds being described as a 'number' in one case and 'a few' in another.

There have been only three finds in Madura of coins of this period and none in Coimbatore on the west coast. The rest was discovered at Vinukonda in the Kṛṣṇā district, in the Nellore and Cudappa districts, in Sholapur, and in Surat. These are cotton-growing countries. If, therefore, we had to judge from the coins, we should be compelled to assume that trade with Rome in such luxuries as spices, perfumes, and precious stones ceased after the death of Nero and only a limited trade in necessities, such as cotton fabric, continued.¹ A probable reason for this was disorder in Southern as well as Northern India, the lack of a powerful ruler who could hold petty chiefs in check, but the actual reason of the decline in the Roman trade is found in Rome itself. After Nero's death Rome was convulsed with disputes with regard to the succession to the imperial throne. When Vespasian finally secured it, he discouraged lavish display by the nobles. There are very few of the coins of Vespasian and Titus anywhere in India. But soon the trade revived; for the coins "of Domitian, Nerva, Trojan, and Hadrian, are frequent; then there comes another break lasting until the time of Commodus."²

XXX. The reaction of this trade on the fortunes of the Roman Empire has been described by Schoff.³ "This extravagant importation of luxuries from the East without adequate production of commodities to offer in exchange, was the main cause of the successive depreciation and degradation of the Roman currency, leading finally to its total repudiation. The monetary standard of Rome was established by accumulations of precious metal resulting from its wars. The sack of the rich city of Tarentum in 272 B. C. enabled Rome to

¹ *JRAS.*, p. 599.

² *Periplus*, pp. 219-220.

change her coinage from copper to silver. After the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B. C., gold coinage came into general use and through the wars of Cæsar gold became so plentiful that in 47 B.C., its ratio to silver was as 1 to 8·9, lower than ever before or since. Under Augustus the ratio was about 1 to 9·3, the *aureus* being worth 25 silver *denarii*. Under Claudius the sea-route to India was opened after which came the reign of Nero, marked by every form of wastefulness and extravagance, during which the silver *denarius* fell from $\frac{1}{84}$ to $\frac{1}{96}$ pound of silver, an alloy of 20 per cent copper being added to it. Under Trajan the alloy reached 30 per cent, and under Septimius Severus 50 per cent. Finally, under Elagabalus 218 A.D., the *denarius* had become wholly copper and was repudiated. Even the golden *aureus* was tempered with. Exported in large quantities to become the basis of exchange in India, the supply at home was exhausted. Under Augustus the *aureus* weighed $\frac{1}{40}$ of a pound of gold, and under Diocletian it weighed but $\frac{1}{60}$. Under Constantine it fell to $\frac{1}{72}$, when the coin was taken only by weight (Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, i, 51-2; Brooks Adams, *Law of Civilization and Decay*, 25-8). It was this steady loss of capital, to replace which no new wealth was produced, that led finally to the abandonment of Rome and to the transfer of the capital at the end of the 3rd century to Nicomedia and soon afterward to Byzantium."

Nemesis has overtaken India after 1800 years. European luxuries are now sapping the vitality of Indians and Europe-made articles are destroying the ancient industries of India and lowering the total wealth of the country.

Patañjali

As he reveals himself in the Mahābhāṣya

III

Kāvya literature known to Patañjali

There existed a vast literature, both in prose and poetry, when Patañjali wrote his famous commentary. In the previous pages we had occasion to form an idea as to the magnitude and depth of his scholarship in the field of early literature of India ; we now proceed to show his acquaintance with the so-called artificial poetry or Kāvya literature. Patañjali has quoted numerous metrical verses from the poetical works of many distinguished poets who are more or less unknown to us. The period preceding Patañjali seems to have been marked by the advent of many beautiful Kāvyas, written in classical Sanskrit and containing fine touches of poetic embellishment. The language and style of the Mahābhāṣya serve to give us a perfect specimen of classical Sanskrit. The Mahābhāṣya contains a good many lines of good poetry, but Patañjali neither mentions the names of the authors nor directly speaks of the works wherefrom he has actually taken them. Considering the many-sidedness of his genius it is not too much to suggest that Patañjali himself was a great poet having some poetical productions to his credit, and that some of the verses, as they appear in the Mahābhāṣya, are really of his own creation. Patañjali made his mark pre-eminently as a grammarian, but it is not unlikely that a man of his versatile intellect might have enjoyed some reputation also as a poet. Bhartrhari, for instance, was both a grammarian and a poet. Patañjali sometimes gives ślokas only in parts, as is suitable for his purpose, and has sometimes quoted them in full. In a few cases he has again put some three or four verses together. The verses occurring in the Mahābhāṣya fall under three distinct classes :

- (1) Verses directly taken from the Samhitās and Dharma-

Sāstras. Patañjali was well-versed in the Vedic literature and has freely quoted the hymns from the Vedas.

(2) Grammatical discourses in versified form. The Mahābhāṣya contains plenty of verses that deal entirely with grammar; it shows that an attempt was made by some early grammarians to present the rules of grammar in metrical verses. Vyādi's Saṃgraha is said to have been written in verses, and it is not unlikely that Patañjali might have borrowed some verses from this authoritative work. So far as the Kātantra system of grammar is concerned, Śarvavarman has also given the rules on Samāsa in a versified form. Bhartrhari and Koṇḍabhaṭṭa have both taken recourse to metrical verses as the best medium for introducing the solution of grammatical problems. Hari's Kārikās, as they occur in the Vākyapadīya, are frequently quoted by the grammarians as the most authoritative and lucid exposition of the views of Patañjali. Thus, we see that both before and after Patañjali many treatises on grammar were written in beautiful metrical verses. Some of these verses are no doubt of his own making and the rest taken from some other treatises composed in verses.

(3) Ślokas or parts of the ślokas borrowed from earlier Kāvya literature. These beautiful verses betray much genuine poetry, and were undoubtedly highly popular at the time of Patañjali. A study of the verses of this class makes it abundantly clear that there had been some reputed poets whose works were closely studied by Patañjali. The artificial poetry, it must be remembered, does not begin with Bhāsa or Kālidāsa, but goes back to a much earlier date. We have reason to believe that long before Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Bhavabhūti could reverberate the horizon of India with their melodious poetry, there had appeared some other poets gifted with almost the same genius, whose names and works have not unfortunately come down to us. That Patañjali was himself a poet or he had at least much attraction for good poetry is best testified by

- 21 ऊर्द्धं प्राणश्चतुर्क्रामन्ति यूनः स्थविर आयति ।
प्रत्यत्यानाभिवाद्याभ्यां पुनस्तान् प्रतिपद्यते ॥ M. B., vol. III, p. 58
(This verse is to be found unaltered in the Manu-saṃhitā, 2, 120.)
- 22 साष्टरैः पाणिभिर्गन्ति गुरवो न विषोक्षितैः ।
लाङ्गनाश्रयिषी दोषास्ताङ्गनाश्रयिषी गुणाः ॥ „ „ p. 367
(This is probably taken from some Nīti-śāstra.)
- 23 बहूनामप्यचित्तानामेको भवति चित्तवान् ।
पश्य वानरसैव्येऽस्मिन् यदर्कमुपतिष्ठते ॥ M. B., vol. I, p. 281
- 24 विपरीतं तु यत् कर्म तत् कल्म कवयो विदुः । M. B., vol. I, p. 336
- 25 तपःश्रुतं च योनिश्च एतद्ब्राह्मणकारणम् ।
तपः श्रुताभ्यां यो ह्येनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 363
- 26 त्रीणि यस्मावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च ।
एतद्विवं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाग्र्य लक्षणम् ॥ „ „ p. 220
(These two śloka describing the three essential characteristics of a Brahmin are supposed to have been taken from some Dharma-śāstra.)
- 27 सत्त्वं निविशतेऽपैति पृथग्जातिषु दृश्यते ।
आधेयश्चाक्रियाजश्च सोऽसत्त्वप्रकृतिर्गुणः ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 217
(This verse giving a philosophical definition of *quality* is considered to be a creation of Patañjali.)
- 28 उपेक्ष्यन्ज्जहात्यन्वदृष्टो द्रव्यान्तरैष्वपि ।
वाचकः सर्वलिङ्गानां द्रव्यादन्यो गुणः श्रुतः ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 217
(That the above was made by others is explicitly mentioned by Patañjali by the statement “अपर आह” put just before the verse.)
- 29 स्तनकेशवती स्त्री स्वाहोमशः पुरुषः श्रुतः ।
उभयोरन्तरं यच्च तदभावे नपुंसकम् ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 196
(This verse bringing out the physical peculiarities of males, females and eunuch is likely to have been borrowed from some earlier works.)
- 30 असत्तु मृगदृष्ट्यावत् गन्धर्वं नगरं यथा ।
आदित्यगतिवत् सन्न वस्तान्निर्हितवश्च तत् ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 197
(This is probably of Patañjali's making. The first line shows how things that do not really exist are sometimes comprehended to be existent. The second line gives the opposite view viz. how things that are really existent lie often beyond our comprehension.)

the number of beautiful slokas he has used in the Mahābhāṣya. We give below some instances :—

- 1 तपस्वते लोकजिगीषुरग्रेः Mahabhaṣya, vol. II, p. 25
- 2 जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः " " " p. 119
- 3 आत्मस्मरिष्वरति गूढमसिर्वमानः " " " p. 102
- 4 जनार्दनश्चात्मचतुर्थ एव " vol. III, p. 143
- 5 बुभुक्षितं न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् " vol. I, p. 444
- 6 आ वनान्तादुदकान्तात् प्रियं पायमनुव्रजत् " " p. 340
- 7 ध्वंसते गुरुतल्पगः " vol. II, p. 130
- 8 असिद्धितीयोऽनुससार पाण्डवम् " " p. 426
- 9 सङ्कर्षणद्वितीयस्य बलं कृण्वत्य वर्धताम् " " "
- 10 यद्यिन् दृश्यसहस्राणि पुत्रे जाते गवां ददौ ।
ब्राह्म्येभ्यः प्रियास्थेभ्यः सोऽयमुच्छेन जीवति ॥ " " p. 313
(This verse perhaps refers to certain anecdote.)
- 11 दूरादावसथान्मूत्रं दूरात् पादावसेचनम् ।
दूराच्च भाव्यं दस्युभ्यो दूराच्च कुपिताद्गुरोः ॥
(This is undoubtedly taken from some "Nīti-śāstra".)
- 12 महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा जुषुषुः पुष्यमाणवाः । M. B., vol. III, p. 288
- 13 प्रियां मयूरः प्रतिनर्ततीति यद्वस्त्रं नरवर नर्ततीति हृष्टः । M. B., vol. III, p. 338
- 14 अहुरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम् ।
बैवस्वतो न तप्यति सुराया इव दुर्मदी ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 341
- 15 उपास्मात् स्थूलसिक्तं तूर्णीगङ्गा महाक्रदम् ।
द्रोणं चेदशको गन्तुं मा त्वातामां कृताकृते ॥ " " p. 430
- 16 वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः । " " p. 283
- 17 ध्वनिः स्फोटश्च शब्दानां ध्वनिस्तु खलु लक्ष्यते ।
अस्यो महाश्व केषांचिदुभयं यत्स्वभावतः ॥ " " p. 181
(This verse, as embodying the main tenet of the doctrine of Sphoṭa, is supposed to be of Patañjali's creation.)
- 18 सुस्फुजटकेशेन सुनताजिनवाससा ।
समन्तशितिरन्त्रेण हयोर्वै तौ न सिध्यति । M. B., vol. II, p. 420
- 19 कुतश्चरति मायूरिः केन कापिञ्जलिः कृशः ।
आह्वयेन च दष्टस्य पश्चिमतसमो मतः ॥ " " p. 250
- 20 नाकमिष्टमुखं यान्ति सुयुक्तैर्वङ्गवारधैः ।
अथ फत्काषिणो यान्ति येऽचीकमतभाषिणः ॥ " " p. 55

- 31 कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः ॥ M. B., vol. II, p. 167
 32 सदङ्गशङ्खतूष्वाः पृथङ्नदन्ति संसदि । M. B., vol. I, p. 435
 33 वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायातिलोहिनी ।
 पीता भवति सस्याय दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत् ॥ M. B., vol. I, p. 449
 34 चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति दंतयोर्हन्ति कुञ्जरम् ।
 कैशेषु चमरीं हन्ति सीम्नि पुष्कलको हतः ॥ M. B., vol. I, p. 458
 35 न वर्तते चक्रमिषुर्न पात्यते न खन्दन्ते सरितः सागराय ।
 कूटस्थोऽयं लोको न विचेष्टितास्ति यो ह्येव पश्यति सोऽप्यनन्तः ॥

M. B., vol. II, p. 123

(This and following ślokas are evidently quoted by Patañjali to indicate that there is nothing like *present time* (नास्ति वर्तमानः काल इति).

- 36 अनागतमतिक्रान्तं वर्तमानमिति तथम् ।
 सन्तं च गतिनास्ति गच्छतीति किमुच्यते ॥

M. B., vol. II, p. 123

(This verse has a striking similarity with the Mādhyamika doctrine which denies the very existence of time. This is supposed to have been incorporated from some earlier treatises on the Mādhyamika philosophy wherefrom Nāgārjuna too had received the nucleus of his famous Kārikās. The conception of *Extreme Nihilism*, as is expounded by the Mādhyamika school, has its origin in the early canonical texts of Pāli literature. As a representative scholar of his age, Patañjali had not left any branch of study unnoticed. It is, therefore, no wonder if he happens to show some amount of his acquaintance with some tenets of the Buddhist philosophy. The word "माध्यमिकीय" has been clearly used by Patañjali (M. B., vol. III, p. 156). In connection with the question of existence and non-existence of 'present time,' Patañjali has quoted altogether six beautiful verses which, as he frankly admits, are taken from other works.)

There are other instances in the Mahābhāṣya¹ where Patañjali has put more than one verse in succession. The episode of monkey soldiers worshipping the Sun-god is narrated by Patañjali by two consecutive verses (see M. B., vol. I, p. 281). Similarly, in another case he has given two verses together which deal with the question of determining the precise subject (कर्ता) or agent when more than one agents

are engaged in an operation (see **M. B.**, vol. I, p. 240), as in raising a heavy thing.

Patañjali explicitly makes mention of a **Kāvya** composed by Vararuci—"वाररुचिं काव्यम्"¹ but does not give the exact name of the work. Vararuci is popularly known as a poet of great reputation. Tradition, however, makes him a contemporary of Kālidāsa (he being counted as one of the nine jewels that adorned the court of Vikramāditya), but this reference of the Mahābhāṣya tends to assign him a much earlier date than that of Kālidāsa. This **Kāvya** has not unfortunately come down to us and we have no positive evidence to fix the date of Vararuci. Vararuci is often identified with Kātyāyana, the author of the **Vārttika**. The **Prākṛtaprakāśa**—a **Prākṛta** grammar is also ascribed to the authorship of Vararuci. Again, **Kaccāyana** (which is only a **Prākṛtised** form of **Kātyāyana**) is also found to be the author of a grammar on **Pāli**. Considered even as distinct persons, both Vararuci and Kātyāyana thus seem to have been distinguished grammarians. Their identity is proved by the fact that the epithets **Vākyakāra** (an usual designation of Vararuci) and **Vārttikakāra** are sometimes used as denoting the same person. The following verse "वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् । पाणिनिं सुप्रकारं च प्रबोधिष्वि सुनिबधम्" serves to establish an identity between the **Vākyakāra** Vararuci and the **Vārttikakāra** Kātyāyana, because here वाक्यकार-वररुचि has been evidently used as the same as वार्त्तिककार-कात्यायन. As a matter of fact, the three sages comprehended by the term *Trimuni* are known as Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. If this identification is regarded to be a fact, then the word Vararuci should be taken as a name of Kātyāyana and similarly **Vākya** as convertible with **Vārttika**. Helā-

1 **M. B.**, vol. II, p. 315.

2 यदाह वाक्यकारः—"सिद्धं त्वन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्याम्" ॥ **Vākyapadīya**, under the **kārikā**, 3, 1.

N. B. The same expression occurs as the **Vārttika**—**M. B.**, vol. I, p. 219.

rāja¹ has referred to the Vākyakāra as if he was the same as Kātyāyana. Reference is made to another poet named Jāluka¹ as the author of metrical verses (जालुकाः श्लोकाः). Further, we hear of *ślokas* as composed by Tittri. The so-called *Bhrājā-ślokas*,² as mentioned by Patañjali, are popularly attributed to the authorship of Kātyāyana. Patañjali has quoted one of these *ślokas* which purports to show the impropriety of drinking in connection with the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice.

Gods mentioned by Patañjali

Patañjali has mentioned the names of many deities both Vedic and Paurāṇic. The Rg-veda mentions about 33 gods. Yāska,³ on the authority of the Nairuktas, has limited the number to three, specifying their respective dwelling places, namely, heaven, aerial region and earth. Agni belongs to the earth, Vāyu or Indra to the aerial region, and the Sun to heaven. Yāska⁴ ascribes it to their supernatural power that each of these three deities came to have good many names, that is to say, these three are to be regarded as the principal divinities and the rest are only different manifestations of them. Here we can trace the germ of monotheism which was so vehemently supported by the Vedāntins at a later period, i. e. how one and the same Supreme Being used to be called by different names (एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति Rv., I, 23. 134). Patañjali has mentioned almost all the principal Vedic gods, namely, Indra,⁵ Agni, Vāyu, Viśvedevāḥ, Sūryya, Rudra, Prajāpati, Apāmnapāt, Marut, Viṣṇu, Viśvakarman, etc.,

1 Vol. II, p. 315.

2 Vol. I, p. 3.

3 Nirukta, Daivata, p. 745—अग्निः पृथिवीस्थानो वायुर्वेन्दो वातरिचस्थानः

सूर्यो द्युस्थानः ॥

4 Nirukta, Daivata, p. 766—नाह्नाभाग्याद् देवताया एक आत्मा बहुधा सूयते

एकस्यैवात्मनोऽन्धे देवाः प्रत्यङ्गानि भवन्ति ॥

5 Vol. III, p. 82 ; vol. II, p. 356.

and even such dual divinities as Mitrā-Varuṇa¹ and Dyāvā-Prthivī.² (also अग्नीषोमी and वायूवारुणम्).

Indra, Sūryya and Rudra, etc. also appear in the Purāṇas as prominent divinities, though it is usually the "*Trinity of gods*" i. e. Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva, that commands the highest respect and adoration in the Paurāṇic conception of religion. Patañjali has not only used the name of Indra but has given his other synonyms,³ namely, Śakra, Puruhūta, Purandara, Maghavaṭ, etc. Indra is called Vṛtrahan⁴ from the fact of his killing the demon named Vṛtra. The expression "इन्द्रो वृत्रहा" occurs many times in the Mahābhāṣya. The god Skanda⁵ (Kārtikeya) is also mentioned by Patañjali. So far as the case of Rudra is concerned, he has mentioned so many names of this deity as Śiva, Bhava (vol. II, p. 91), Śarva, Girīśa, Mahādeva and Tryambaka which are more or less associated with some Paurāṇic legends. He has, moreover, used the word Śaiva (vol. II, p. 282) which refers to a particular sect of Paurāṇic religion. The names Bhava, Śiva, Rudra and Mr̥ḍa are also to be found even in the aphorisms of Pāṇini (see Pāṇ. 4. 1. 49). Patañjali has definitely mentioned two outstanding divine personalities, namely, Baladeva and Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa), of the Yādava line who passed into divinities in the age of the Purāṇas, the former being counted as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and the latter as entirely identical with the Supreme Being (कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयम्). The expression "शिवभागवत,"⁶ as is used by Patañjali more than once, refers to a religious sect (Śaiva) according to which Śiva was considered to be the highest divinity and worshipped as such. Moreover, the rule (Pāṇ., 5, 2, 76) under which the above expression occurs is indicative of some particular associations of the lord Śiva. It is thus believed that both Śiva and Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa)

1 Vol. III, pp. 17, 82.

2 Vol. III, p. 396.

3 Vol. I, p. 220.

4 Vol. III, p. 351—इन्द्रो वृत्रहा ।

5 Vol. III, p. 148—कन्दविशाखी ।

6 Vol. II, p. 387.

cults were in existence at the time of Patañjali. Patañjali refers to Kali-yuga¹ as well as to Kālī as a divinity. The passage गौर्देवतास्य स्थालीपाकश्च², shows that the cow had already become a divinity. Among the goddesses we distinctly find the names of Gaurī³ (गौरीं च गौर्यं च), Lakṣmī (vol. III, p. 159) and Agnāyī (the wife of Agni). The worship of Gaurī and of the other 15 Mātṛkās is ordained by our Dharma-sāstras. The word Kālī⁴ occurs in such a context that it is supposed to be a reference to the famous Tāntrik goddess "Kālī." A snake-goddess, namely, Suparṇi, as well as female snakes (नागयुवति) are also mentioned by Patañjali. He has used both the words प्रचेतस and गीःपति meaning respectively Varuṇa and Br̥haspati. The way in which Patañjali has used the expression "देवा चातुसहस्रिणि" indicates that he considered the gods to be of infinite wisdom (cf. the definition of the word Deva "दिशेरैश्वर्यकर्मणो देवः vol. II, p. 356). Patañjali has also used "चजर" and "चमर" (vol. III, p. 138) which, as two epithets of gods, suggest that the gods are not liable to suffer from either old age or death. He has used the expression "देवासुरम्" (vol. II, p. 319) in such a context as to indicate the eternal strife or hostility between gods and demons. A class of gods called Nilimpa (vol. II, p. 92) is also mentioned in the Māhābhāṣya. So far as the worship of gods is concerned, Patañjali has particularly mentioned "आदित्यसुपतिष्ठते" and "चन्द्रससुपतिष्ठते" under the rule 1, 3, 25. Reference is also made to the animal sacrifice, specially in connection with the worship of Rudrā ("पशुना रुद्रं यजते" vol. I, p. 339). Mention is made of both heaven and hell (vol. III, p. 12), and Patañjali particularly observes that he who gives rice to others is entitled to go to heaven (vol. II, p. 140).

Sages and Teachers

The Māhābhāṣya contains the names of many sages and teachers belonging to the Vedic and the Paurāṇic age. The

1 Vol. II, p. 273—"कली भवः कालियम्" and "कलिर्देवतास्य"

2 Vol. II, p. 237.

3 Vol. III, p. 81.

4 Vol. II, p. 200.

hymns of the Vedas are all associated with some particular deities and sages. Patañjali has mentioned most of the Vedic sages such as Kutsa, Vasiṣṭha, Ātreya, Vāmadeva, Viśvāmitra, Bharadvāja, Aṅgiras, Agastya, Śunaḥśepa, Vṛṣākapi, Devāpi, Kautsa, Prajāpati, Kakṣivat, Kanva¹ etc. and specially those that are regarded as the founders of Gotras (viz. Gārgya (गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण—vol. I, p. 451), Vatsa, Agniveśman, Kāśyapa, Śāṇḍilya, etc.). Both Pippalāda and Auddālaki² who figure so prominently in the Vedic literature are also particularly mentioned by Patañjali. Of the Paurāṇic sages we can trace the names of Vyāsa, Śuka, Jāvali,³ Jāmadagnya, Vaiśampāyana, Nārada-Parvata and so on. There were eighty-eight thousands of Ṛṣis living in perfect continence (उत्तरेण⁴); among them, as Patañjali narrates, only eight Ṛṣis with Agastya as the eighth were blessed with progeny. Patañjali particularly observes that the sons of these Ṛṣis became afterwards the progenitors of families (Gotras). We meet with the names of a number of ancient sages in the aphorisms of Pāṇini, such as Śaunaka, Kalāpin, Kāṭha, Caraka, Chagalin, Kāśyapa, Vaiśampāyana, Pārāśaryya, Śilāli, Kṛśāśvin, Kauśika etc. Patañjali has not only mentioned the name of Viśvāmitra but has briefly given his genealogical account, narrating the story how he secured the coveted Ṛṣi-hood on behalf of Gādhi and Kuśika his father and grandfather respectively. He has given the account of two more sages, namely, Yārvāṇa⁵ and Tarvāṇa who are said to have been born seers, gifted with uncommon intellectual power, and possessing knowledge in all the branches of studies. Another teacher of antiquity i. e. Vārṣyāyaṇi, who is also mentioned by Yāska, has been referred to in the Mahābhāṣya

1 Vol. III, p. 33.

3 Vol. I, p. 489.

5 Vol. I, p. 11.

2 Vol. I, p. 493.

4 Vol. II, p. 233.

as one who explained the six stages of modifications¹ (existence, growth, development, transformation, decay and final destruction) through which all material entities are liable to pass. It is not only the men who in ancient times devoted themselves to studies and the practice of Tapasyā, but also women e. g. the female ascetics, pursuing their studies with an equal amount of attention. Patañjali has mentioned the name of a female teacher, i. e. Gārgī² who is described in the Upaniṣads as taking the most active part in some philosophical discussions. Mention is further made of two Brahmin ladies who used to study the grammatical systems of Āpiśali and Kāśakṛtsna³ (said to be the founder of a school of philosophy). Another female ascetic, namely, Devahūti (the wife of Karddama) is also mentioned by Patañjali (vol. III, p. 126). A teacher named Ulūka is alluded to in the Mahābhāṣya.

India is the land of Ṛṣis and ascetics. Few other countries could produce so many sages and teachers as sanctified the soil of India. According to Yāska's⁴ explanation of the term, the Ṛṣis were born with divine wisdom, having insight into the essence of religion, and knowing everything by intuition. They were, however, followed by an inferior class of Ṛṣis, better known as Śrutarṣi, who were not naturally gifted with such intellect as the former but had to depend upon regular studies for the acquisition of their knowledge. The hymns of the Vedas are intimately associated with the sacred memory of such Ṛṣis. Patañjali like Yāska has also made use of the same epithets when he happens to speak of the Ṛṣis : प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः, परापरज्ञाः, विदितविदितव्याः, and अधिगतवायातव्याः. What is actually meant by these four epithets is thus explained by Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa :— प्रत्यक्षधर्माणः means that the Ṛṣis were capable of knowing everything by means

1 Vol. I, p. 258 ; Ulūka, vol. II, p. 280.

2 Ibid., p. 492.

3 Vol. II, p. 325.

4 Nirukta, I. 20. p. 143.

of their Yaugika knowledge ; “परापरज्ञाः” implies that they could distinguish Vidyā from Avidyā or pure knowledge from nescience ; “विदितवेदितव्याः” signifies that they were endowed with the three essential qualities, namely, hearing, thinking and practising, that lead one to the path of salvation ; “अध्यातवायातव्याः” shows that they had practically visualised the ultimate truth. Such were the Ṛṣis of whom we hear so much in the ancient legends. They were repository of learning, and all knowledge has emanated from them. To whatever branch of Indian culture we may fix our attention, we are astonished to see the singularly brilliant records of scholarship and wisdom as have been left by such saintly teachers of antiquity. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas contain good many accounts of these teachers. The Vedas with their vast allied literature, numerous treatises on Dharma-śāstras, Itihāsas and Purāṇas, different systems of philosophy and grammar—all stand as the undying monument of their achievements in the various spheres of culture. Both Parivrājaka (wandering monk) and Tāpasa (ascetic) are mentioned by Patañjali ; and he particularly notices that the practice of asceticism serves to reveal the supreme wisdom (“तपस्तपसं सेवयति”—vol. III, p. 38). Even the peculiar features of ascetics such as matted hair, bare-headedness, holding of Kamaṇḍalu are also stated by Patañjali. Under Pāṇ. 6. 1. 158 Patañjali has mentioned a class of wandering monks (मन्त्रार), possibly holding bamboo sticks in their hands, who used to preach absolute abstinence from action. Again, by the expression “ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति” (vol. II, p. 109.) Patañjali has undoubtedly referred to a class of sages who used to speak of Brahman, that is to say, were blessed with the supreme knowledge of Brahman.

Sacrifices, rituals and other religious observances

We have already tried to show that Patañjali was not only well-versed in the Vedic literature but had practical knowledge of the Śrauta and Smārta rituals. Mention is

made by him of such great sacrifices as *Rājāsūya*¹ and *Vājapeya*. Puṣyamitra is reported to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice (at Pāṭaliputra) and it is not unlikely that Patañjali might have availed himself of this opportunity of serving his royal patron by officiating as the principal priest on that occasion. He has also mentioned some other minor sacrifices,³ namely, नवयज्ञ, पाकयज्ञ, अग्निष्टोम, चातुर्मास्य, पञ्चमहायज्ञ and states particularly with regard to the last one that "every householder should perform the five great sacrifices." That the observance of religious rites was regarded as an obligatory duty on the part of every Brahmin is made clear by such references as गार्ग्यो यजते, वात्स्यो यजते, दासिः पिता यजते, गार्ग्यस्य पिता यजते, देवदत्तस्य पिता यजते and so on. Patañjali himself was a great यज्ञिक (sacrificer) having practical knowledge of most of the rituals enjoined by the Brāhmaṇas and Dharma-sāstras; otherwise he could not have given such an accurate information about the performance of religious rites. He has not only incidentally quoted the Vedic passage यज्ञेन प्रतिष्ठां गमयस्⁴ but actually won much reputation among the priestly classes as a staunch follower of religious rites. He has mentioned both "sacrificial land"⁵ and "the family of priests"⁶ specially competent for conducting the sacrificial works; and has particularly spoken of स्तुतिवाचन,⁷ पुण्याहवाचन and शान्तिवाचन which are to be duly recited by the priests just at the beginning of a Vedic ritual. In some cases Patañjali has exactly quoted the Mantras or the Vedic hymns as are usually attended with a sacrifice :—(i) अश्ववत्कीमारुह्येना स्तुत्ये⁸ (ii) सप्तशिरस्य आगृहि⁹ etc. and has sometimes quoted the passages from the Brāhmaṇas having direct bearing upon the performance of sacrifices, as, for instance, (i) आयावैशाव चरुं निर्वपेत्¹⁰ (ii) स्थूलपृषतीमाश्विमारुणीमनङ्गाहीमालभेत,¹¹ (ii) भृगुशान्तिहिरसां धर्मस्य तपसा

1 & 2 Vol. II, p. 361.

4 Vol. II, p. 65.

7 Vol. II, p. 362.

9 Vol. III, p. 179.

11 Vol. I, p. 1.

3 Vol. II, p. 351.

5&6 Vol. II, p. 357.

8 Vol. II, p. 65.

10 Vol. III, p. 149.

तप्यध्वम्.¹ He particularly refers to the *Prayājā hymns* and shows his personal experience of the sacrificial rites when he rightly observes that the mantras² are not stated in the Vedas in all possible case-endings and that they should consequently be modified suitably by the priest engaged in a sacrifice. The Mahābhāṣya contains further references to sacrifices, namely, अग्निष्टोम and दर्शपौर्णमास and gives details of such rites, e. g. स्थालीपाक, चरुहोम, पुरोडाश, कपाल etc. He has also dealt with the question of season in regard to the performance of particular Vedic rites. So far as the accessories of sacrificial rites are concerned, Patañjali has mentioned *Yūpa*, *Caṣāla*, and *Sruk*, etc. He explains *Yūpa*³ as a wooden post specially prepared for binding animals in a sacrifice, and states further that it should be made of either *Vilva* or *Khadira* tree. He has also given two technical words, namely, *Udgrābha*⁴ and *Nigrābha* which are respectively used to mean the uplifting and falling of *Sruk*. Patañjali has further shown how in a विहृतयाग thirteen Sāmīdhenī⁵ Mantras become seventeen in number by the three-fold repetition of the first and the last hymns. This shows how minutely Patañjali knew all these details of the sacrificial rites. He has referred to the practice of drinking *Soma*⁶ (juice) which formed an important part of the Vedic sacrifices; and has quoted a Vedic passage (Brāhmaṇa) to the effect that "he should drink Soma in a house where had been living no Śūdra for the long period of ten generations". Mention is also made of *Śrāddha*⁷ (ceremony) along with its usual meaning i. e. "anything that is offered to the manes with due respect." He refers particularly to *Aṣṭakā-śrāddha*⁸ as what is usually

1 Vol. I, p. 2.

2 Vol. I, p. 1—न सर्वं लिङ्गं नै च सर्वाभिर्वि भक्तिभिर्वेदे मन्त्रा निगदिताः ।

3 Vol. I, p. 8.

4 Vol. II, p. 148.

5 Vol. I, p. 17.

6 Vol. II, p. 248.

7 अष्टा प्रयोजनमस्य आहुतम्—vol. II, p. 362.

8 अष्टका पितृदेवत्ये—vol. III, p. 326.

offered to the manes, and speaks of cows as generally offered by the sages by way of *Dakṣiṇā*. Patañjali has not only shown the ancient system of reading the Vedas but has alluded to the recitation of *Sāma* songs by Brahmin boys¹ (देवो मानवकः साम्नाम्). Reference has also been made to "long sacrifices"² (दीर्घसव) which were continued for such a length of time as a hundred years and a thousand years. Patañjali rightly observes in this connexion that such sacrifices are no longer practised by men, but we hear of them only in the ritualistic portion of the Vedic literature. He has mentioned another sacrifice, namely, चतुर्मास यज्ञ³ which, as the term implies, takes a period of four months for its completion. We have a Vrata (vow) of the same name enjoined by our Dharmaśāstras. Patañjali has particularly mentioned two *Vratas*,⁴ namely, आदित्यव्रत and महाशिवव्रत, which are supposed to have been duly observed in his time, the former one being still practised by Brahmin ladies of Bengal.

*Patañjali as a philosopher and his acquaintance with
different systems of Indian Philosophy*

Patañjali himself was a philosopher of no mean order. Even if we set aside for the moment the question of his identity with the author of the *Yoga-Sūtra*, we cannot but give him the credit of having been a great thinker, a philosopher in the strict sense of the term, considering the intrinsic value of some of the doctrines that have emanated from him. It is he who has not only widened the scope of grammar by introducing many logical principles but has approached the problems of grammar from such a scientific standpoint as to raise the study of grammar to the rank of a regular philosophy. The way in which he has maintained the eternality of Śabda, expounded the doctrine of *Sphoṭa*, and applied the principle of Agreement and Difference

1 Vol. II, p. 178.

3 Vol. II, p. 361.

2 Vol. I, p. 9.

4 Vol. II, p. 360.

(अन्वयव्यतिरेक) in course of differentiating the stems from formative elements of words, sufficiently confirms our view that he richly deserves to be styled a philosopher. We have already said how it would be a great injustice to his many-sided genius, if we simply take Patañjali as a grammarian and shut our eyes to the other prominent features of his outstanding personality. He was not only a grammarian but also a philosopher, and his contribution as a philosopher is not of less importance. It is mainly on account of his philosophical expositions of Pāṇini's aphorisms that Mādhavācāryya has treated the Pāṇinīyan system as a distinct school of philosophy. In dealing with Patañjali as a philosopher, we should particularly take notice of the following facts : (I) He has discussed two different views as to *whether Śabda is created or eternal*. The grammarians had to face a great problem in arriving at a decision with regard to this point. Quite in agreement with the standpoint of the Saṃgraha, Patañjali has **however** finally decided in favour of the latter view i. e. he has **taken** Śabda to be an eternal entity. He has clearly shown more than once what he actually understood by the eternality of Śabda. Whenever he speaks of *Nitya Śabda*, he invariably characterises it thus : Śabda (in its eternal aspect) is fixed, motionless, has neither origin nor destruction and is not subject to change and modification. Like all material entities Śabda is not liable to pass through the six different stages of modifications as enumerated by Vārṣayāṇi. Śabda, in short, does not exhibit in itself any kind of non-eternality as due to either association (संसर्गानित्यता), modification (परिणामानित्यता), or destruction (प्रवृत्तानित्यता). Now, what is the exact nature of this eternal Śabda ? By "eternal Śabda" Patañjali precisely means *Sphoṭa*. The theory of Upavarṣa (वर्णा एव तु शब्द इति भगवानुपवर्षः), so strongly supported by Kumārila and Śaṅkara, was but little favoured by the grammarians who went a step further to maintain the existence of Sphoṭa as distinct from letters. Sphoṭa is formless and indivisible ; it is one and eternal. It is manifested

by sound but is not identical with it. Sphoṭa represents the ultimate form of speech (i.e. *Parā Vāk* residing in the *Mūlādhāra*) that passes through the three stages or gets more and more manifest till it becomes finally audible. Sphoṭa in a sense is veritably the same as *Prāṇava* out of which the world is said to have sprung up in a mysterious way (cf. शब्द इति चेन्नातः प्रभवात् प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम्—*Vedānta Sūtra*). Śabda is not a momentary thing that ceases to exist as soon as it is uttered; the grammarians have, however, found in it an emblem of all-pervading Brahman. As an advocate of *Śabda-Brahma-Vāda*, Patañjali has identified Śabda (i.e. Sphoṭa) with Brahman and has thus brought grammar to the same level with the higher branch of philosophical thought. The doctrine of Sphoṭa, as is expounded by Patañjali, is the crowning success of grammatical speculations of the Hindus, and will continue to be the most accurate exposition of the theory of Speech. (II) Principle of Agreement and Difference :—Patañjali sought to separate the stems from the formative elements of words by applying the logical method of अवयव and व्यतिरेक. The principle¹ underlying this method of analysis is an indication that Patañjali proceeded entirely on the basis of scientific methodology in course of determining *Prakṛti* and *Pratyaya*. (III) The Mīmāṃsakas have agreement with the grammarians so far as the eternality of Śabda is concerned, though the former does not recognise Sphoṭa as such. Patañjali comes into closer touch with the Mīmāṃsakas when he explains the relation of word with sense as eternal (नित्यो सत्य-वतामर्थैरभिसम्बन्धः²), and maintains, on the authority of Vājapyyāyana, that all words denote generality or class as opposed to individuals. He also believes in the eternality of the Vedas just like the Mīmāṃsakas (नित्यानि कदांसि). While attributing the eternal character to the Vedas in pursuance of the orthodox Brahmanic tradition, Patañjali particularly observes that it is the arrangement or order of words of the Vedas

¹ Vol. I, p. 219.

² Vol. I, p. 7.

that should be regarded as permanently fixed i. e. eternal.¹ We should, however, remember that the eternality of the Vedas forms the very basis of the Mīmāṃsā system of thought. The author of the Mahābhāṣya has thus shown his familiarity with the cardinal doctrines of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy, though he does not mention them definitely. He has used both the words Mīmāṃsā and Mīmāṃsakas, but does not actually mention the name of Jaimini. Patañjali has not used the word *Sāṃkhya* as denoting a school of philosophy. The word 'Kapilaka', however, occurs in the Mahābhāṣya. But indirect references to this system of thought are available in the Mahābhāṣya. While enumerating the six causes that often prevent us from comprehending things that really exist, Patañjali has almost reproduced the *Sāṃkhya-Kārikā*² (1. 7.) only in different language. These causes are as follows : extreme distance, extreme proximity, intervention by other things, obscurity due to darkness, weakness of visual organs, and extreme carelessness. No clear reference is made to the Vedānta philosophy by Patañjali. We only meet with such words as Brahman, Akṣara, Brahmanvādin etc. in the Mahābhāṣya. (1) Under the Vārttika (सर्वस्य वा चेतनावत्त्वात्³) he has hinted at the Vedānta doctrine of non-duality of Soul by stating that "everything possesses consciousness" (सर्वं चेतनावत्). This expression bears comparison with the passage "चन्द्रयं व्यापितं सर्वम्". Patañjali has also quoted the authority of the Vedas which have spoken of some inanimate objects as if they were full of consciousness like ourselves (cf. शरीरेति यावत्⁴ and ऋषिः पठति). (2) He has spoken of both individual (आत्मा) and Supreme Soul (परमात्मा) under the rule 3. 2. 83 ; by the former he probably means the same as Jivātman and by the latter the universal soul or Absolute Brahman. (3) Classification of soul as physical and internal⁵ (शरीरात्मा and अन्तरात्मा) :—In course of discussion as to how one

¹ Vol. II, p. 315.

² Vol. II, p. 197—cf. *Sāṃkhya-Kārikā*, 1. 7.

³ Vol. II, p. 15.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 15.

⁵ Vol. I, p. 292.

and the same soul is used both as the agent (कर्ता) and as the object (कर्म) in an expression like “आत्मना हन्यते आत्मा” (similar expression is also to be found elsewhere—Cf. Gītā स्वयमेवात्मनात्मानं वेत्त्य त्वं पुरुषोत्तम . Patañjali has spoken of two-fold Soul as physical (शरीरात्मा) and internal (अन्तरात्मा) and continues to say that the internal soul performs those actions whereby the physical soul feels either pleasure or pain and *vice versa*. The soul, to speak from the Vedānta standpoint, is one and non-dual, and the question of plurality of souls is nothing but inconsistent according to the strict interpretation. The Sāṃkhyaītes have, however, maintained the plurality of souls (Puruṣa), but explain them as absolutely unconnected with action. The passage under examination does not only speak of two kinds of souls but characterise both of them as active. We cannot, therefore, explain this position either from the Vedānta or from the Sāṃkhya point of view. Kaiyaṭa¹ on this point :—“Difference of souls is here really meant and not the agency and objectivity of one and the same soul. According to the Sāṃkhya standpoint, the internal soul should be taken as the *Antahākaraṇa*, because that alone is capable of action, the Puruṣa being entirely free from activity. According to the Naiyāyikas, on the other hand, the *Puruṣa* as an active agent may be identified with the internal soul. As to the physical soul feeling pleasure and pain, the body being devoid of consciousness, we should not explain the physical soul simply as body but take it (body) in combination with the causes of pleasure and sorrow (i. e. merits and demerits, unseen fate or action).

Pramāṇas

To an orthodox Vedic scholar like Patañjali the Vedas, viewed as eternal and of non-human origin, proved to be an instrument of correct knowledge (Pramāṇa). Harmoniously with the Mīmāṃsakas he has shown the sacred character and

1 वस्तुत एवात्मामेदो नत्वे कस्यैव कर्मत्वं कर्तृत्वं च । अन्तरात्मिति । सांख्यपक्षे अन्तःकरणमन्तरात्मा तस्यैव कर्तृत्वसम्भवात् । पुरुषस्याकर्तृत्वात् । नैयायिकादीनां सन्ने पुरुषस्य कर्तृत्वात् स एवान्तरात्मा इति विवक्षितः
—Kaiyaṭa.

trustworthiness of the Vedas in more than one passage. As a grammarian, he significantly calls himself “शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् (vol. I, p. 366), i. e. those who have Śabda or depend on Śabda as a source of knowledge. The Naiyāyikas, we should remember, have recognised four different forms of Pramāṇas,¹ namely, Perception, Inference, Analogy and Śabda. Patañjali has made reference to these Pramāṇas with the single exception of Analogy (उपमिति). (Nyāya) Though direct mention is not made either of Gotama or of his Sūtras as *Nyāya*, *Ānvikṣiki* or *Tarka-Śāstra*, Patañjali has used the words *Gautamīya* and *Vākovākya*² wherein we may trace some allusion regarding both the author and his system. He has not only shown his thorough acquaintance with the Nyāya system but has also used the peculiar phraseology and some technical terms of the Naiyāyikas. The statement³ धूमं दृष्ट्वाग्निर्वतिगम्यते will serve to remind one of the oft-quoted logical proposition पर्वतो वज्रिमान् धूमान्. By the above statement Patañjali has tried to show how one can usually infer the existence of fire at the sight of smoke. He has also indirectly hinted at the Naiyāyika conception of *Vyāpti*⁴ or invariable concomittance whereupon depends the very basis of inference. That inference is quite impossible without previous perception (तत्पूर्वकमनुमानम्⁵) is also made clear by Patañjali. He also observes that in some cases inference seems to be more reliable than perception.⁶ The followers of the *Navya-Nyāya* have not only indulged in subtle discussion but have, as a rule, relied much upon inference, so much so that they often tried to understand a thing through the instrumentality of inference which was otherwise more easily comprehensible by the simple process of perception (Cf. Raghunātha's statement in *Pakṣatā*—प्रत्यक्षपरिकल्पितमप्यर्थमनुमानेन वुमुत्सन्ने तर्करसिकाः). Reference has again been made to inference in connection with the definition of *Kriyā*.

1 Nyāya-Sūtra, I. I. 3.

2 Vol. I, p. 9.

3 Vol. II, p. 125.

4 Vol. II, p. 125. प्रत्यक्षज्ञानादिधूमयोरभिसम्बन्धः ।

5 Nyāya Sūtra I. I. 5.

6 प्रत्यक्षादप्यनुमानवर्तीयस्त्वम्—vol, II, p 125.

According to Patañjali, *Kriyā*¹ or action is not at all visible and is comprehended only by inference (अनुमानगम्या). He comes in close touch with the Naiyāyika standpoint when he states clearly that “the sense-organs² are capable of producing the cognition only when they have direct association with the mind.” What he means to say is this : The sense-organs by themselves are not competent to give rise to a cognition (perception), but they do so by reason of their connection with the mind. The Naiyāyikas³ maintain the same view only with this difference that they added another factor i. e. the soul, with which the mind gets invariably connected in so far as the production of cognition is concerned. The position of the Naiyāyikas is this : In all cases of perception the object perceived first comes in contact with our sense-organs ; the sense-organs get them connected with the mind which ultimately is united with the soul⁴ (see Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya on 1. 1. 4). This is the usual order in which we derive our knowledge. “The connection of mind with soul” is held to be the cause of all kinds of knowledge. The Nyāya Sūtra (2. 1. 21) expressly states that perceptual knowledge is not at all possible without the contact of mind with soul.

Patañjali, however, does not agree with the Naiyāyikas so far as the conception of *Avayavin* (the whole) is concerned. He takes the whole as an aggregate or combination of parts (अवयवात्मकः समुदायः),⁵ whereas the Naiyāyikas maintain that the whole is a distinct entity from the parts (द्रव्यानन्तरभूतोऽवयवीति⁶). The whole is generally supposed to be composed of atoms. But in that case the whole (i.e. the tree as a whole) would not have been visible, because atoms are too small to be comprehended by the senses (अतीन्द्रियत्वादणूनाम्). As a matter

1 Vol. I, p 254—क्रियानामेयमव्यक्तापरिदृष्टा.....सासावगुप्तानगम्या ॥

2 Vol. II, p. 120—“मनसा संयुक्तानीन्द्रियाण्युपलब्धौ कारणानि भवन्ति ।”

3 नात्ममनसोः सन्निकर्षाभावे प्रत्यक्षोत्पत्तिः—Nyāya Sūtra, 2, 1, 21.

4 आत्मा मनसा संयुज्यते, मन इन्द्रियेण, इन्द्रियमर्थेनेति—under Nyāya-Sūtra, 1, 1, 4.

5 Vol. III, p. 3.

6 Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya under the Nyāya Sūtra, 2, 1, 34. “सर्वाण्यणूनामवयवसिद्धः ।”

of fact, the tree, for instance, as a whole appears to be something essentially different from its parts such as branches, leaves, roots etc. Patañjali has, however, cited some instances to show how the whole differs from the parts. The instances like "branch of a tree" (वार्त्ती शाखा) and "yarn of a blanket" are calculated to explain this difference in clear terms.

Patañjali rightly holds that "desire¹ is directly known by action," that is to say, what a man desires to do is clearly understood by his action. Desire, according to the Naiyāyikas,² is one of the signs whereby the soul is usually inferred (आत्मनो लिङ्गम्) to be existent. The soul is not directly comprehended by perception but is an object of inference. From the soul originates desire which is followed by action (cf. आत्मजन्या भवेद्विच्छा इच्छाजन्या कृतिर्भवेत्—Bhāṣāpariccheda).

Mal-observation or Anomaly of Cognition

Like Vātsyāyana³ Patañjali has also given some examples to show how anomaly sometimes occurs with regard to perception or cognition. Mirage, fairy castle and the movement of the sun form suitable instances of such anomaly ; and Patañjali has referred to them all with his clear exposition. (I) We sometimes perceive something that does not really or materially exist (असत्तु स्मरदृष्टावत्). The thirsty deer⁴ are proverbially deceived by the mirage. As a matter of fact, the deer, when they are thirsty, verily perceive the current of water in the rays of the sun, though it really does not exist at all. Similarly, the beautiful city of the Gandharvas is often falsely seen in the sky (गन्धर्वनगरं यथा⁵). (2) Anomaly or non-perception : Something that really exists is not sometimes perceived as, for instance, roots of trees etc. Patañjali has given here the instance of the sun's movement.⁶ The sun

1 इच्छाया हि प्रवृत्तिरुपलब्धिः—vol. II, p. 15. 2 Nyāya Sūtra, I, 1, 10.

3 Vāt. Bhāṣya under Nyāya Sūtra, I, 1, 23.

4 & 5 Vol. II, p. 196—"स्मरदृष्टिता अपां धाराः पश्यन्ति न च ताः सन्ति"। and
"गन्धर्वनगराणि दूरतो दृश्यन्ते उपलब्धं च नोपलभ्यन्ते" ॥

6 आदित्यगतवत्सन्न—vol. II, p. 297.

has its motion, though it is not ordinarily perceived by our naked eyes.

Successive stages of action

How minutely Patañjali used to observe facts is clearly seen by the way in which he has shown how one action (क्रिया)¹ becomes the objective of another. The usual order is as follows : A man first conceives something by his intellect, then he feels desire to have it, next comes endeavour which is followed by the actual beginning of action, then completion (of action) and finally the attainment of desired end. (vol. I. p. 330).

Cause

Patañjali defines the cause² of a thing as the invariable condition or factor without which the action cannot take place. He gives the example of 'binding by fetters'³; as the action of binding is impossible without the help of fetters, the latter is considered to be the cause with regard to the former. Cf. the logical definition of cause—येन विना यन्न भवति तत्तस्य निमित्तम् and अन्यथासिद्धिरन्यत्वे सति नियतपूर्ववर्तित्वम्—

Substance (dravya)

A substance is the "substratum of qualities (गुणाश्रयो द्रव्यम्).⁴ "Possession of qualities" (गुणवत्त्वम्) forms the common characteristic of all substances. Patañjali⁵ has advanced many arguments to show that a substance is different from qualities such as form, smell, odour, sound and touch. This is only a tentative definition of substance. He finally defines "Substance"⁶ as what does not lose its essence even when different qualities come to inhere in it." A fruit, for instance,

1 Vol. I, p. 330.

2 यन्नान्तरेण यस्य प्रवर्तिर्भवति तत्तस्य निमित्तत्वाय कल्पते—Vol. II, p. 388.

3 न चान्तरेण शङ्खलं बन्धनं प्रवर्तते—vol. II, p. 288.

4 Cf. गुणाश्च द्रव्यसंस्थानाः—Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya under Nyāya Sūtra,

5 Vol. II, p. 366.

6 यस्य गुणान्तरेणपि प्रादुर्भवत्सु तत्त्वं न विहिन्यते तद्द्रव्यम्—vol. II, p. 366.

remains the same, though in course of time its colour i.e. blueness gives way to redness. A substance is therefore substratum of qualities (गुणाश्रयो द्रव्यम्). Elsewhere he speaks of substance as Guṇin (that which contains qualities) and explains the relation between substance and qualities in the following terms गुणाश्च गुणिनि शिरते¹ and गुणसंद्रावी द्रव्यम्. Patañjali further observes that the question of degree with regard to either excellence or inferiority does not really pertain to substance (न च द्रव्यस्य प्रकर्षाप्रकर्षौ स्तः²) or class (जाति), but it is particularly with reference to qualities that we speak of either goodness or badness of a thing. He makes substance an aggregate of qualities (गुणसंद्रावी द्रव्यम्).

Quality

From what we have said above it is clear that the relation between substance and qualities is one of inter-dependence. As we cannot form an idea of the class without that of individuals, so we fail to understand qualities without reference to substance wherein they inhere. Patañjali explains *guṇa*³ as what serves to distinguish an object from others (belonging to the same genus); as, for instance, the same thing as water appears to be different such as cold and hot by reason of its association with different qualities. Guṇas are therefore the same as are called "differentiating properties" (इतरव्यावर्तकधर्म), *Prakāra*, qualifying factors etc. by the grammarians and Naiyāyikas. Elsewhere Patañjali gives a more logical and exhaustive definition of *guṇa*. Quality, he holds,⁴ inheres in substance, liable to change, found in different species, sometimes produced (as the particular form of a pot), not generated by action (as in the case of the permeation of the sky), and is not of the same nature as

1 Vol. II, p. 415.

2 Vol. II, p. 414.

3 Vol. I, p. 41—"भेदकत्वात् गुणस्य । एकीयमात्मनोदकं नाम । तस्य गुणभेदादव्यक्तं भवति ॥

4 Vol. II, p. 217—"सत्त्वे निविशतेऽपैति पृथग् जातिषु दृश्यते । आधेयथाक्रियाजन्तु सोऽसत्त्व-
प्रकृति र्गुणः" ॥

substance. Patañjali gives another definition to render the idea of *guṇa* more clear. Quality, he continues, inheres in something and also disappears from others, found in different things, is used in all genders (i.e. words that denote quality have no particular genders or numbers of their own, their gender and number being usually determined by those of their substratum—cf. गुणवचनानां शब्दानामाश्रयतो लिङ्गवचनानि भवन्ति¹), and is veritably different from substance (Vol. II, p. 217). According to the grammarians, words like Śukla etc. are expressive of both quality and the substratum of qualities (गुणे गुणिणि च वर्तन्ते).

Eternal Entities

Patañjali² has not only attributed eternality to the Vedas and Śabda (Sphoṭa) alone but has also included the sky, heaven, space and time in the same category. According to the Naiyāyikas, the earth, light, water and air are eternal in so far as their ultimate atoms are concerned, while the sky, time, mind, quarters and the soul are regarded to be permanent in their entirety. Under the rule 4. 2. 3. Patañjali has expressly stated that both time and stars are permanent (नित्ये कालनक्षत्रे—vol. II, p. 272). He arrives at the final stage of his arguments when he concludes that a thing where in the ultimate essence is not destroyed is also to be considered as permanent (तदपि नित्यं यस्मिन्लक्ष्यं न विद्यन्ते—vol. I, p. 7).

Time

Time is said to be the ultimate substratum of the world (कालो हि जगदाधारः); it is indivisible, permanent, one and permeating the entire world. We can neither trace its origin nor divide it actually into parts. Things grow and perish in time. Patañjali defines time³ as that whereby the growth and decay of material objects are perceived. The division of time into

¹ Vol. II, p. 414. ² Vol. III, p. 364—नित्याद्यौः, नित्या इष्टिवी, नित्यमाकाशम् ।

³ Vol. I, p. 409 येन मूर्त्तीनामुपचयापचयाश्च लक्ष्यन्ते तं कालमाहः । तस्यैवं कयाचित् क्रियया युक्तस्याहुरिति भवति रात्रिरिति च ॥

day and night (months, years, cycles, etc.) is only an artificial process of calculation; it is by virtue of its conjunction with some action as the movement of the Sun¹ that we characterise some fixed amount of time as day and night. Patañjali is scientifically accurate in his view that the movement of the Sun is the standard of our calculation with regard to the different divisions of time.

In grammar we hear of mainly threefold division of time, namely, present, past and future. Both Kātyāyana and Patañjali have dealt at length with the question of time, specially with reference to the so-called "present time" (वर्तमानः कालः). These discourses are perfectly philosophical and deserve to be followed carefully. Under the rule Pāṇ. 3. 2. 123, Kātyāyana has altogether five Vārttikas dealing with the question of the division of time. Regarding the use of present tense, Kātyāyana² states that 'bhavanti' (which is supposed to have been the older designation of present tense with the ancient grammarians) or *Varttamāna* is used to indicate the continuity or non-accomplishment of action already begun (प्रवृत्तस्याविरामः). But it is not the case, as the author continues, for there is no such thing as "present time." Patañjali then gives the next Vārttika to show that it will not strengthen our position even if we restrict the use of 'bhavanti' to those cases of permanent continuation of action as are denoted by such examples as "mountains exist", "rivers are flowing," etc., because time, to speak the truth, does not admit of any divisions. What is actually meant is this: We cannot cite the sentence "mountains do exist" as an example of present tense, inasmuch as the earth as well as the mountains are both supposed to be existing from eternity, and there is, moreover, no particular action whereby *Varttamāna* might be denoted. As to the indivisibility of

¹ क्या क्रिया ? आदित्यगत्या—vol. I, p. 409.

² Vol. II, p. 123.

time (कालविभागः), we generally explain *Varttamāna*¹ as what is opposite to both past and future, but the divisions of time such as past and future do not really exist. The word *Varttamāna* is a relative term i.e. we explain *Varttamāna* with reference to past and future; and if there are no such divisions as past and future, the question of *Varttamāna* does not arise at all (cf. Nyāya-Sūtra², 2. 1. 39, 40). The answer is given by the following Vārttikas.³ The instances ("we are reading," "the mountains do exist") are really indicative of *present time*, as they signify the beginning of action which is not completed. We are allowed to speak of *Varttamāna* when the action is just begun but not completed. Another question of importance is also raised here. An action, as Bhartṛhari⁴ clearly points out, consists of many parts, or in other words, *kriyā*, according to the grammatical conception, is an aggregate of actions. Now, if this be so, we cannot define *Varttamāna* as denoting the continuity of action. Patañjali⁵ thus observes that a man while eating is sometimes found to perform some other actions such as smiling, speaking and drinking, the continuity of the action (i. e. eating) being thus broken up by the intervention of other actions. The answer is not far to seek. Patañjali finally gives three examples ("mountains do exist," "mountains will exist, and "mountains did exist") to explain the so-called divisions of time into present, past and future. He has explained these cases by holding time to be the substratum of action.

In this connection Patañjali has quoted a number of verses either of his own creation or taken from some other treatises on philosophy. A rejoinder is here introduced : "There is no

1 भूतभविष्यत्प्रतिपक्षो वर्तमानः कालः, न चात्र भूतभविष्यत्कालौ स्तः—vol. II, p. 123.

2 वर्तमानाभावः पततः पतितपतितव्यकालोपपत्तेः—तस्माद्वर्तमानः कालो न विद्यते इति भाष्यः ।

3 सन्नि च कालविभागाः—vol. II, p. 123.

4 गुणभूतैरवयवैः समूहः क्रमशश्चानाम् ।

5 See vol. II, pp. 123, 124 ; सोऽपि स्वयम् भुञ्जानो हसति वा जल्पति वा पानीयं वा पिबति ।

such thing as “present time.”¹ Because action that is finished is past and that not yet finished (or undertaken) is future, but we cannot conceive of anything that is neither finished nor unfinished (there being no intermediate stage). The śloka² quoted below means as follows :—“The wheel does not move, the arrow is not thrown, the rivers do not flow to the sea ; the whole world is motionless, and there is no active agent ; he who realises in this way is not really blind.” Kaiyata has explained this verse from the standpoint of *Yoga*. He is none but a *Yogin*, he holds, who can practically visualise a changeless phenomenon like this. A state of motionlessness of this description is perceptible only by the *Yogins* while they remain absorbed in self-realisation. The *Yoga-Sūtra* contains many such accounts as to how by *śamya* in the Sun³ and other regions of the body one acquires various supernatural powers. Again, reference is made to the *Yoga-Sūtra* by the expression “अस्तीति तां वेदयन्ति विभावाः” which means that the *Yogins* are capable of having the knowledge of present, past and future (cf. *Yoga-Sūtra*, 3. 16—परिणामवयस्यमादतीतानागतज्ञानम्) by virtue of their meditation. Thus, Patañjali has more than once shown his acquaintance with the *Yoga* system of thought. The rest of the ślokas quoted by Patañjali bears close resemblance to the *Mādhyaṃika-Kārikās*⁴ of Nāgārjuna which also purports to deny the existence of “present time.” We have already referred to the fact that Patañjali seems to have been conversant with the tenets of the Buddhist philosophy current in his time. The early canonical texts of Pāli literature contain the germs of many a philosophical doctrine which had developed into different systems of thought in a later period.

1 नास्ति वर्तमानः काल इति ।

2 न वर्तते चक्रमिषुर्न पात्यते न स्रन्दन्ते सरितः सागराय । कूटस्थोऽयं लोको न विवेष्टितास्ति यो ह्येवं पश्यति सोऽप्यनन्तः ।

3 भुवनज्ञानं सूर्ये संयमात्—*Yoga-Sūtra*, 3. 26.

4 तस्माद्भूतिस्य गन्ताच्च गन्तव्यं च न विद्यते—p. 31.

The Nyāya philosophy has also devoted some five Sūtras to the discussion of "present time." Gotama first introduces the arguments against the existence of *Varttamāna* and then finally gives his conclusion supporting it (see Nyāya-Sūtras, 2. 1. 39-43). It is to be noted that the Sūtras enunciated by Gotama to refute the existence of "present time" are almost the same as are pre-supposed by the discourses of Patañjali.

In connection with the problem of differentiating grammatical genders, Patañjali¹ has hinted at a point of philosophical interest, namely "nothing can remain (unchanged) in its own state for a moment." Everything is in a constant flux of change. A thing either undergoes development or proceeds to destruction, but never remains unmodified for any conceivable period of time.² This sounds exactly like the Buddhist *doctrine of momentariness* (क्षणभङ्गवाद).

Patañjali has also quoted the important tenet of Vārṣṇyaṇi according to which all material objects, as a rule, are bound to pass through six different stages of modifications, such as existence, growth, development, transformation, decay and destruction.

The Mahābhāṣya contains many other passages that might be examined and put forward to show the range of Patañjali's knowledge in the domain of philosophy. But it is not possible to deal with them adequately within the short compass of these pages.

Before concluding this chapter we have one word more to say. We have seen above how Patañjali has testified his thorough acquaintance with the old school of Nyāya philosophy (i.e. Gotama's Nyāya-Sūtra and other earlier works on the same branch). The new school of Nyāya, as founded by Gaṅgeśa, had not, however, come into existence at the time of Patañjali. But a minute study of the Mahābhāṣya

1 न हीह कश्चित् स्वस्मिन्नात्मनि सुहृत्समप्यवतिष्ठते—vol. II, p. 198.

2 वर्तते वा यावदनेन वर्तितव्यमपायेन वा युज्यते—vol. II, p. 198.

with particular reference to its style will make it sufficiently clear that the peculiar phraseology of the *Navya-Nyāya* made its first appearance in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The phraseology of the *Navya-Nyāya*, though apparently too technical and abstruse, has the valuable qualities of scientific precision and economisation with regard to the use of words. Patañjali found this style favourable for his philosophical discourses as the most scientific method of expression. The following phrases तादर्थ्यात्ताच्छब्दान्, “अविशिष्टत्वात्,” “आकृतियहणादनन्तं भवति,” “यश्च भवता हेतुर्व्यपदिष्टोऽप्रतिपत्तिर्विभयोस्तुल्यम्,” “विकारणैर्व्यवहितत्वान्नियमो न प्राप्नोति,” “साधनाभावादसत्यपि धात्वाधिकारे,” “इह हि शब्दस्य स्वाभाविकी वानेकार्थत्वा सा हाचनिकी वा” “शब्दान्यत्वाङ्गिण्यलंङ्ग्यते,” are an indication how Patañjali has unconsciously made use of the peculiar style that was so much favoured by the *Naiyāyikas* like Raghunātha, Jagadīśa, Gadādhara and others. The *Mahābhāṣya*, so to speak, shows the style of the *Navya-Nyāya* in the making.

Patañjali has used some technical terms of the *Nyāya* philosophy, such as *Anugama*,¹ *Sāmānādhikaraṇya*,² *Ananyatva*,³ *Anaikātmya*⁴ and *Viśayatā*,⁵ etc. and has also referred to the “mutual non-existence” (अन्योन्याभाव) by the logical expression—यस्तु खलु गोशब्दस्य च भेदः सोऽन्यत्वं करोति.⁶ He has used the words *Jāti*, *Sāmānya* and *Ākṛti* as denoting the class, the last one being applicable to both the form as well as to what is suggested by such form. Quite in agreement with the *Naiyāyikas* he states that the genus or class⁷ (जाति) is not at all affected by the difference of individuals, and that it exists permanently even when the individuals are all destroyed. As a matter of fact, the individuals, such as cows, for instance, differ from one another in complexion and other qualities and are liable to death, but the genus i. e. ‘*gotva*’ is neither variable nor subject to destruction. The gram-

1 Vol. II, p. 355.

3 Vol. I, p. 179.

5 Vol. I, p. 290,

7 Vol. I, p. 1—तन्निर्गन्धमिन्द्रियं चिद्विज्ञानं सामान्यभूतम् ।

2 Vol. I, p. 254.

4 Vol. I, p. 247.

6 Vol. I, p. 179.

mathematical conception of *Jāti* is as follows : “*Jāti* or class is characterised by the form” i. e. by the particular arrangement of physical structure (आकृतियद्वया जतिः).¹ Elsewhere Patañjali² holds that the destruction of individuals is not followed by that of the class. They are distinctly separate entities (अनेक आत्माकृतेर्द्रव्यस्य च); the class is one and eternal, while the individual are many and perishable. Qualities cannot exist apart from the substance which forms their substratum and are consequently liable to perish when their substratum is destroyed. But such is not the case with the class. Patañjali has made this point clear under the Vārttika अविनाशोऽनाशितत्वात् (vol. I, p. 247).

Patañjali has indirectly referred to the *Ārambha-vāda* and *Pariṇāma-vāda* in discussing the rules Pāṇ. 1. 4. 22-30. What he means to say is this :—In the expression—“Scorpions³ grow from cowdung” we may take the scorpions either as modification (as *Pariṇāma* of the Sāṅkhyites) or as distinctly separate things from the cowdung (अन्यथा न्याय प्रादुर्भवन्ति) ।

(To be continued)

PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

¹ Vol. II, p. 225.

² द्रव्यविनाशे आकृतेरविनाशः—vol. I, p. 247.

³ Vol. I, p. 329.

Buddhist Education in Pāli and Sanskrit Schools

The subject of Buddhist education is bound up with several still unsolved problems, but it is possible to limit the subject by marking off some of those questions on which scholars are still much divided. One of these problems is the question of the locality or localities where those schools arose that established different forms of the writings held to be the word of Buddha. The most accessible of the works of these schools are the Pāli Canon, and Sanskrit works which contain Mahāyāna works as well as works of Hīnayāna schools closely related to the Pāli tradition.

There is an article on Buddhist education in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, but for the earlier period it confines itself entirely to the reports of the Chinese pilgrims, that is to say, it is entirely silent about the thousand years after the death of Buddha, during which all the various forms of the Canon had become fixed, and when the education and instruction described by the Chinese pilgrims had been established for centuries. Yet there is considerable evidence both external and internal to show what the educational methods were.

We do not need to ask how much the earliest Buddhism borrowed from other schools. Windisch's article on Brahmin influence on Buddhism shows how little is really known about the actual movements in the earliest period.¹ Windisch points out that brahmins who entered the Order would bring their knowledge and literary practices with them. Our present question is what this knowledge and literary practice was after it had become assimilated and established in Buddhist institutions.

1 In *Aufsätze E. Kuhn gewidmet*, München, 1916.

Besides the Pāli Canon a considerable body of literature in Sanskrit of several schools is known. Most of it has been described in the catalogues of Rajendralal Mitra¹ and Bendall,² and the most important parts have been published. Works that survive only in Tibetan and Chinese are also now becoming more accessible. The earliest stage of literary activity may be called that of systematisation. It must be mentioned here, that current views as to its significance are too divergent to make it possible to say anything that may claim to be final.

There is a view still current in the West, which supposes that the orthodox Buddhist holds the Scriptures to exist now in the form in which they were uttered by Buddha, and as recited at the first Council. The Buddhist accounts of the Councils may not harmonise with the demands of modern historical criticism, but they contain nothing so unhistorical as that. Buddhaghosa knew as well as we do that the Canon contains much that is not the direct word of Buddha. He expressly refers to that which was recited and that which was not recited at the first Council.³ Throughout the commentaries we find notes on passages that are said to have been added by one of the Councils. Not only have we Suttas that are said to have been given by disciples after the death of Buddha, but Buddhaghosa quotes a verse which says that out of 84,000 suttas 2,000 were uttered by bhikkhus.⁴ The whole of the *Niddesa* is attributed by the commentator thereon to Sāriputta.⁵

On the other hand there has often been a less excusable

¹ *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882.

² *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library*, Cambridge. Cambridge, 1883.

³ Vin. Com., i, 18.

⁴ Ib., i, 29.

⁵ The commentator on Th. I, 527 quotes Nd. I, 143 (Bhāgī vā Bhagavā) and attributes it to Sāriputta (Dhammasenāpati).

uncritical attitude among Western scholars, against which Mrs. Rhys Davids has recently made a vigorous protest.

“When believers in the East and historians in the West will come up out of the traditional attitude, when we shall not hear church-editing called *Buddhavacanam and thought of as Gotama-vacanam*—when we shall no more read: ‘The Buddha laid down this and denied that,’ but ‘the Buddhist church did so’—then we shall at last be fit to try to pull down super-structure and seek for the man.”¹ The fact of this editing, which is recognised both by Buddhist commentators and modern critics, implies a stage of literary activity, of which we know nothing as to actual details. Not only are there the variously classified compilations of the *Anguttara* and *Saṃyutta*, but the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* show much elaboration also. The former is in three vaggas, and the first vagga, although it deals with such various subjects as the sixty-two heresies, caste, sacrifice, brahmin ritual, and miraculous powers, has been given an appearance of uniformity by the insertion in each sutta of the document known as the *śīlas*. The *Majjhima* is classified in much more detail and with more reference to the subject-matter in fifteen vaggas. The whole of the Pāli Canon in fact shows evidence of the same careful classification.

What this stage of Buddhist study really implied cannot be properly answered until we know more about the corresponding arrangements of those forms of the Canon belonging to contemporary schools that are extant in the Chinese. Very divergent views are at present held, as by Prof. Keith and Prof. R. O. Franke.² There can be little doubt that the system of arrangement is earlier than the recording of the Canon in writing, and that the chief motive was to serve as a help to the memory. We find examples of

1 *Majjhima Index*, p. vi.

2 Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*; Franke, *Introd.* to his translation of the *Dīgha*.

commentary already incorporated in the suttas, but the first distinct evidence of material intended for definite instruction is found in the *Niddesa*. Much of the matter of this work is also found in Abhidharma works and in the verbal commentary of the Vinaya, and it will be convenient to take the *Niddesa* first.

As is well known this work is a commentary on the fourth and fifth sections of the *Sutta-nipāta*, together with a commentary of the same nature on the *Khaṅgali-sūtra* sutta, which is found in the first section. The matter of which it consists can be divided into three types:

(1) Portions of doctrinal commentary on important words in a style similar to the portions of commentary occasionally found in the suttas. The matter and often the language is drawn from the suttas, and in addition illustrative passages from the suttas are frequently quoted direct, and in the case of prose quotations regularly introduced by the words, *vuttam pi h'etaṃ Bhagavatā*. Verse quotations, which sometimes appear to be non-canonical, are more frequently adduced without any mention of the source. In the case of verse 844, the *Niddesa* simply adopts as its commentary a whole sutta from S. iii, 9, which consists of a commentary on that verse.

(2) Concise definitions of individual words, such as, *sappo vuccati ahi, āsanam vuccati yattha nisīdanti*. The matter of this portion sometimes corresponds with such definitions in the verbal commentary of the Vinaya.

(3) It is in the third type that the most characteristic feature of the *Niddesa* is seen. This consists of lists of synonyms of the word commented on. Such lists are not used to explain the meaning of a word in a particular context. They are repeated in the same form wherever the word occurs, and were evidently intended to be learnt in the same way as the more modern kośa. In the case of the verbs the synonyms often consist of all the possible compounds of the same verb, *yutto, payutto, āyutto, samāyutto, sampayutto; vedhati, pavedhati, sampavedhati*. In the case of important

words all the various synonyms, evidently drawn from the scriptures, are given in long lists. The result is that some of the synonyms are often unintelligible apart from the context in the sutta from which they are taken. In a long list of synonyms of *tanhā* (Nd. I, 8) *sibblinī* 'sewer' occurs, and the reason for this is seen from A. iii, 399 ; Sn. 1040, where it is an epithet of *tanhā*, and from where it has no doubt been taken. Among the synonyms of *sadā* (Nd. I, 18) occurs *avīci*. This is evidently due to analysing it as *a-vīci* 'without a wave', and hence 'continuous.' *Vammīko* as one of the synonyms of *kāya* comes from the parable of the ant-hill in M. i, 142.

Much of this is also found in the Abhidhamma books, but in the *Niddesa* it is used as general matter applied to passages for which it was not immediately intended. Some of the correspondences are as follows : *chāndo* Nd. I. 2=Dhs. 1097, Vbh. 374 ; *tassa* Nd. I. 2=Vbh. 393 ; *mano*, *pūti*, Nd. I, 3=Dhs. 6, 9 ; *tanhā* Nd. I, 8=Dhs. 1059 ; *saṭi* Nd. I, 10=Pug. 25 ; *macchariya* Nd. I, 37=Dhs. 1122, Pug. 19 ; *paññā* Nd. I, 44, 77=Pug. 25, Dhs. 16 ; *māyā* Nd. I, 79=Pug. 19 ; *gantha* Nd. I, 98=Dhs. 1135 ; *kodha* Nd. I, 215=*āghāta* Dhs. 1154, cf. Pug. 18 ; *sāṭheyya* Nd. I, 395=Pug. 19 ; *thiti* Nd. I, 501=Dhs. 10.

Minor differences occur, and in some cases quite different treatment, cf. *puṭhujjana* Nd. I, 146 and Pug. 12. There is a triple division of *pucchā* Nd. 339 with no reference to the fourfold division of D. iii, 229, Dhs. Mahāvvyut. 85.

The verbal commentary on the Vinaya is less developed than either the *Niddesa* or the Abhidhamma works. It is occupied with explaining words concisely, in a given context without lists of synonyms.

This shows a system for learning the vocabulary of the Canon, and for explaining archaic forms, but no further grammatical teaching occurs apart from the description of certain terms as particles. *Addhā ti ekamsavacanam* (with seven other synonyms for *ekamsavacanam*) ; *nā ti paṭikkhepo*. Even

such a sandhi as *iccāyasmā* is not resolved into *iti*, but *iccā* is separated and explained like all such particles as *padasandhi*, *padasaṃsaggo*, *padapāripūrī*, *akkharasamavāyo*, *vyāñjana-siliṭṭhatā*.

In the *Niddesa* we thus have direct evidence of a general system of instruction applied to a definite work, consisting of interpretation, doctrinal teaching and in the verbal expositions the beginnings of grammar. The *Abhidhamma* books and related works like the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* give other traces of its existence. It appears to be this system which is expressly referred to in the *Niddesa* (I, 234) and other places as the four kinds of analysis (*paṭisambhidā*): the analysis of meanings (*attha*), of conditions (*dhamma*), of grammatical analysis (*nirutti*), and clearness of insight (*paṭibhāna*).¹

The *Nirutti* of the *Niddesa* is of the kind that we should expect to exist when Pāli was a living language. All the grammatical analysis that was required was a knowledge of those words in the Scriptures that had become obsolete, and the explanation of unusual grammatical forms by means of the current expression. The method was not confined to the Pāli tradition, as we find the same four divisions called *pratisamvīda* in the *Mahāvastu* (iii, 321) and *pratisamvit* in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (13), and this *nirutti* method has reacted on the style of the later sūtras.

The practice of learning off strings of synonyms might be expected to influence the style of those who passed through such a course of instruction. We appear to find an instance of it when Buddhaghosa² thus describes an earthquake: *ayam mahāpaṭhavī... kampi samkampi sampakampi sampavedhi*.

¹ They are also found in a sutta (A. ii, 160) which is attributed like the *Niddesa* itself to Sāriputta. It probably belongs to the same stratum of scholarship. The *Abhidhamma* statement of *paṭisambhidā* in Vbh. ch. xi is discussed by Mrs. Rhys Davids in the *Points of Controversy*, pp. 377 ff.; cf. Ps. i, 88.

² Vin. com. I, 30.

Here we have the same series of compounds as we find repeatedly in the *Niddesa*, and Buddhaghosa is only using an earlier phraseology. It appears not only in the later commentators but also in Sanskrit and especially Mahāyāna works. In several of these a standing description of an earthquake occurs. The synonymous verbs *kamp-vidh-cal-kṣubh-* are given, followed by *raṇ* and *garj* and each is expanded into compounds with *pra* and *sampra*.¹ If this stood alone, it might be taken merely as the verbosity of a particular author, but there are other instances, and they often correspond with series of synonyms in the *Niddesa*. The *Niddesa* has *sakkaroṭi garukaroṭi māneti pūjeti*. The *Avadāna-śataka* p. 8 exactly corresponding has *saiḱṛto gurukṛto mānitaḥ pūjitaḥ*. The *Mahāvastu* has the same adding *arcitaḥ*. In Mahāyāna works this is expanded, being preceded by *puraskṛtaḥ* and followed by *arcitaḥ* and *apacayitaḥ* (Saddh-puṇḍ. 5 ; Karuṇāpuṇḍ. 2). Similarly the latter sūtra has the series *harṣaṇīya toṣaṇīya prasādaṇīya avalokaṇīya prahlādaṇīya manojña*. All the synonyms that we find need not have arisen from the method that we find in the *Niddesa*. Some of them were doubtless incorporated from old texts, but the practice of compiling such lists is certain from what we find in the *Niddesa*, and the correspondences in the lists makes it probable that there was intercourse between different schools and common methods of teaching.²

Among Mahāyāna works there are two compendiums which have some relation to the *Niddesa*. The *Dharmasaṃgraha* is a compilation of terms, but it is mainly doctrinal. The *Mahāvvyūtpatti* was evidently intended for grammatical instruction as well. It gives the complete declension of *vr̥kṣa* (210), epithets of Buddha and Bodhisattvas and their qualities, synonyms of the teaching and names of sections (66), epithets

1 Lal. v, 449 ; Karuṇāpuṇḍ. 3 ; Mahāvvyut. 151.

2 It may be noticed that the term *nirdeśa* is frequent in Mahāyāna sūtras.

of Nirvāṇa (95), terms of salutation (97), synonyms of *tusṭa* and *raudra* (145-6), synonyms of *sattva* (207) almost corresponding with Nd. I, 12, miscellaneous adjectives (223), a long list of all the stock words and phrases that occur in a sūtra (244), and a list of diseases (284), which only partially corresponds with that in Nd. I, 17. Much of this is *nirukti* in the sense of the Pāli *nirutti*.

At present there is no general agreement as to where the Pāli language as we know it developed. It is usually agreed that the oldest works in verse show traces of having been composed in a different dialect. The natural conclusion is that the canonical works were preserved in a monastery or closely related group of monasteries, where a different dialect was spoken, and where the original dialect of the texts was entirely effaced, except so far as metrical facts compelled the preservation of special forms. Doubtless this Pāli language that we know was at first a living and spoken language, but in the course of centuries, say from the time of Aśoka to the end of the second century A. D., it would come to be as much a learned language as Sanskrit. The fact of the Niddesa itself seems to show that this Pāli was then a current language, but that *nirutti*, grammatical analysis, was becoming necessary for the interpretation of the texts. Nothing profitable can be said about the earliest date at which the Niddesa may be put. Any such theory would only tell us that a work of that name existed, but the occurrence of a geographical term in any particular passage would only allow us to infer the date of that passage. We can see from its different forms and readings that it underwent changes and received additions, and in the case of a work used continuously for instruction this would be inevitable. Its application of Abhidhamma material for a general purpose seems to show that it is later than the Abhidhamma books, and its reference to one of the Alexandrias (Allasanda) founded after the Greek invasion, to Bengal, Burma, and Java, would suggest that it became established and was used as a text-

book during the first two centuries B. C. It has no reference to the pāramitā, and although it gives the 37 constituents of enlightenment, it does not use the term *bodhipakkhika-dhammā*.

In the case of the literature of the Sanskrit schools we can draw further information concerning the materials and methods of education. The works are much later than the *Niddesa*. They refer frequently to writing, and the mention in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* of Kaniṣka and Aśvaghoṣa puts this work later than the first century A. D., but it is probably two or three centuries later than this, as it contains evidence of contact with Greek astrology. The dates usually assigned to the chief texts range from the second to the seventh century. The four methods of analysis with *nirukti* are preserved, but we may infer from the fact that the language was Sanskrit and from the production of a kāvya like the *Buddhacarita* in the first century A. D. that grammar was a fully developed study.

Wherever the texts of this literature originated, we can at least assume from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims that down to the seventh century Magadha was the chief district of their study.¹ Mr. J. N. Samaddar in his interesting account of the monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśīla (east of Bhagalpur) and Odandapura (Bihar) calls them universities, and draws several remarkable parallels with these modern institutions. The proposing of hard questions by the keeper of the gate at Nālandā becomes matriculation. The teaching is said to have been both tutorial and professorial. The Master of the Law is taken to be the Vice-Chancellor, and the writing up of the names of famous scholars over the gates is compared to the granting of diplomas.

This is what is inferred from Hiuen Tsiang, but it is

1 The vihāra of Vikramaśīla is mentioned in the colophon of one Ms. (Mitra, p. 229), and according to Mr. Samaddar Nālandā occurs (*Glories of Magadha*, p. 104 ff.).

I-tsing who describes the actual studies.¹ From Prof. Takakusu's account it appears that grammar was based entirely on works of brahminical schools, the Sūtras of Pāṇini, the Kāśikā of Jayāditya, the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, and three works by Bhartrhari. It is not clear from this whether the Sūtras were those of Pāṇini in their original form, but Pāṇini was certainly known to the Buddhists.² He is mentioned in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, and Tāranātha in his history tells a wonderful story of his acquirement of grammatical science. The chief form however in which the Pāṇinean grammar was studied by these schools appears to have been Candragomin's *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, which is put at the beginning of the seventh century. This is the only grammar which is mentioned in Bendall's list along with commentaries on it, chiefly that of Ānandadatta, and in the Tanjur the grammatical works as given by Csoma are either Candragomin's work or others still later.

The *Niddesa* also shows the beginnings of lexicography, and its continuation appears in the *Dharmasaṅgraha* and *Mahāvvyutpatti*. Its full development is seen in the *Amara-koṣa* of Amarasimha, who was a Buddhist himself. It is not mentioned by I-tsing, and Winternitz puts it between the sixth and eight centuries. There are several copies of it in Bendall's list, and it is also in the Tanjur.

Apart from philosophy, which formed part of the doctrinal

1 Ch. 34. ed. Takakusu.

2 Dr. B. C. Law has pointed out in Buddhaghōṣa a passage reminiscent of Pāṇini, V. 2, 93. It may be asked whether this comes directly from Pāṇini or from some adaptation, but it certainly corresponds much more closely with Pāṇini than with the corresponding sūtra and vṛtti of Candragomin, IV. 2, 97. The Pāli grammar of Kaccāyana is later than Buddhaghōṣa and belongs to the literature of Ceylon. Later works, says Geiger, follow the models of Sanskrit grammar and lexicography slavishly, and apply their system mechanically to Pāli. Geiger, *Pāli Lit. und Sprache*; Franke, *Gesch. und Krit. der einheim. Pāli-grammatik*.

teaching, two important secular subjects are medicine and astronomy. That medicine must have been studied early we know from the Vinaya, as the sixth chapter of the Mahāvagga is devoted to medicines and surgery. I-tsing mentions cikitsā-vidyā, but there is nothing in the surviving literature to indicate that it ever became an independent study. He does not mention jyotiṣa among the vidyās, and it is clear that as astrology was an integral part of astronomy and the chief motive of its study, the latter science could not be expected to flourish so long as Buddhism forbade interpretation of the stars (e. g. Sn. 927 and Nd. I, 381).¹ It came in when the practice of astrology revived. The only astronomical work mentioned in Mitra's list is a ṭīkā on the Jain work *Sūryaprajñapti*. Among the Buddhist fragments from Central Asia edited by Hoernle is an astrological work which shows that it is based on Greek astrology, and that Buddhism had come to adopt astrological practices. There is also evidence of Greek influence in the list of the nine planets in *Mahāvvyut.* 164. The first seven of them beginning with Āditya are in the order of the days of the week, and this order, which depends on an elaborate assignment of a planet to each of the 24 hours of the day, came from Greece.²

It is certain that the monasteries of Magadha were the chief places where this Sanskrit literature was studied, and probably also the region of its origin. It represents the product of several schools and shows certain relations with Pāli works. But the views of scholars concerning the district where Pāli, as we know it, originated are so divergent that

1 The knowledge of astronomy among the Buddhists has been treated in the writer's article *Sun, Moon, and Stars (Buddhist)* in Hastings' *Ency. of Rel. and Ethics*.

2 The Ptolemaic order of the planets is Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. The lord of the first hour of Sunday is the Sun, of the second hour Venus, and so on. This makes the Moon the lord of the first hour of Monday, and so on throughout the week.

it is impossible to do more than draw attention to a problem still in need of solution. It is the question not of the original language of Buddha and his first disciples, but of the Pāli of Ceylon. The Pāli of the time of Buddhaghosa was no living language, except in so far as it may have been learnt and used within each monastery. The commentaries of that time were translations and adaptations in Pāli of those already existing in Singhalese. The traces of an earlier dialect surviving in the Canon may be survivals of the dialect in which it existed when it was taken to Ceylon. But it is the Pāli as used by Buddhaghosa which the Singhalese tradition calls Māgadhi.¹ The view that Pāli really was the language of Magadha is generally rejected, and various attempts to fix the district in India where Pāli developed have been made on the assumption that it must have been somewhere else than Magadha.

Oldenberg sought it in South India, probably in the kingdoms of the Andhras or Kalingas.² According to Prof. R. O. Franke its original home was in a district somewhere in the middle to the west of the Vindhya mountains. "Accordingly it is not impossible, though naturally a pure supposition, that the city of Ujjen, which evidently had become a centre of culture comparatively early, also formed the centre of the dialect-area of literary Pāli."³ This was also the view of Westergaard and E. Kuhn, which Oldenberg expressly rejected. Sir George Grierson holds that "we have a strong reason

1 Buddhaghosa was told to go and translate the Aṭṭhakathā into *Magadhānaṃ nirutti*, Mhvs. p. 251 (Turnour), quoted by Dr. B. C. Law, *The life and work of Buddhaghosa*, p. 75.

2 Vinaya, Introd., p. I.

3 Pāli und Sanskrit, p. 138. By literary Pāli Dr. Franke merely means the Pāli as generally understood. The reason is that he uses the general term Pāli to include the spoken Aryan languages of the whole of sub-Himalayan India and Ceylon; ib. p. vi. There is nothing to be said against the terminology except that it has not won general acceptance, and that scholars still call these languages Prakrit.

for concluding that literary Pāli is the literary form of the Māgadhi language, the then *koine* of India, as it was spoken and as it was used as a medium of literary instruction in the Takṣa-silā University.¹ The conclusion of Rhys Davids was that "Buddhism born in Nepal, received the garb in which we now know it in Avanti, in the far West of India," and he held that this was nearer to the other view "so often put forward as convenient that Buddhism arose in Magadha and that its original tongue was Māgadhi."² These are the results of thirty years of research.

Geiger has taken the unpopular course of holding that the tradition of the Chronicles and commentaries is the true one, and that what they call Māgadhi is Māgadhi.³ Oldenberg's statement that "it is certain that the Pāli language is not the Māgadhi language", merely means that it is not the language of the Asokan inscriptions. There is not slightest reason why the texts of the Canon should have been adapted to the spoken language of the time of Aśoka. It is far more likely that the dialect of the texts had already begun to form a sacred language, and we know that there was a rule in the Vinaya saying that the monks were to learn the word of Buddha in its own grammar or dialect, *anuṣānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanam pariyaṇitum*, and Buddhaghosa understands this as meaning in the Māgadhi language. It is true that this sentence has been understood against both grammar and tradition in a quite opposite sense, but this does not now need discussion.

The latest attempt to solve the question has been made by Dr. M. Walleser,⁴ who also decides for Magadha, but it cannot be said that within the space of twenty-four pages he

1 Commemorative Essays presented to Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 123.

2 Cambridge History of India, I. 187.

3 Pali Litteratur und Sprache, p. 3.

4 *Sprache und Heimat des Pāli-Kanons*. Heidelberg, 1924.

has done justice to the arguments of his predecessors. He further prejudices his own case by asserting that Pāli means not the body of sacred texts but the language in which they were composed. However, his evidence for the phrase *pāli-bhāṣā* rests merely on Childers, and ignores such decisive passages as that of the *Mahāvamsa* referred to above, and thus translated by Dr. B. C. Law : "The Pāli (text of the Tripiṭaka) only (*pālimattam*) has been brought over here. The Ceylon commentary is current among the people of Ceylon. Please go there and study it, and then translate it into Māgadhi (*māgadhānam niruttiyā parivattehi*)."¹ But Dr. Walleser has certainly made the claims of Magadha more probable, and it may be hoped that deeper investigation of the geographical question will lead to the establishing of further links in the history of Buddhist scholarship.

E. J. THOMAS

¹ *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*. p. 74.

Mahābhārata Philosophy—Mokṣadharma

This paper is confined to a study of the Mokṣadharma section of the 12th book of the Mahābhārata as it contains discussions which throw much light on the nature of philosophic speculation in the Epic. The very setting of the book has a philosophic bearing. Yudhiṣṭhira has lost many of his kinsmen in the Great War and has accordingly become dejected. He asks Bhīṣma, who is now sleeping on a bed of arrows (*śara-talpa*) to explain to him the highest ideal of life¹ higher than either of the two, Rāja-dharma and Āpad-dharma, which he has already described to him.

The Mokṣadharma is not however the only philosophic section in the Epic. The Sanatsujātiya of the fifth book (chapters 40-45), the Bhagavad-gītā of the sixth (chapters 25-42), and the Anugītā of the fourteenth (chs. 16-51) are other important philosophical sections. Barring the Gītā, the Mokṣadharma is the most important of them. It presents the characteristic variety of philosophical views of the age.

The philosophic importance of this section is also admitted by all scholars² and attested by the fact that Śaṅkara, who quotes³ only sparingly from what falls outside the Vedic literature, has several quotations from it, for instance, in his commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā.

1 Mbh., XII, 174. 1.

2 Keith and Hopkins draw their conclusions on the "Epic Philosophy" from the materials of this section. Cf. Hopkins, The Great Epic, pp. 85-190; Keith, The Sāṅkhya System, pp. 29-53. Deussen also attempted to investigate epic philosophy first by collecting together and translating this section along with the others. Vijñānabhikṣu quotes profusely from this section in his commentaries on the Sāṅkhya Sūtras and the Yoga Sūtras.

3 XII, 175 (38), 177 (25), 201 (17), 241 (7), 245 (12).

The process by which the Bhārata underwent transformation and grew into its present size through additions and alterations indicates the general nature of its philosophy. A book, a national Epic, that fell into the hands of poets and scholars that lived between 500 B. C. and 200 A. D. cannot claim to possess a single system of philosophy. If it were the work of a single author or at least of a single school and remained unaltered by later poets, we could have expected such a thing in the epic. For a system means a consistent whole. It is "an association of thoughts which collectively belong to and are dependent on a single centre. A system has therefore an individual author, whether he has himself originated the thoughts brought together in the system, or has only adjusted to one another and welded into a consistent whole imperfect thoughts derived from without." The Epic that has absorbed into it the thoughts of many centuries cannot claim to contain a system. Not only words and phrases, but whole lines and the ideas of different systems have been interpolated into it.

All scholars, who have attempted to define the nature of the philosophy of the Epic, have admitted it to contain an eclectic teaching. Garbe believes it to be an amalgamation of the Vedantism of the Upaniṣads and the Bhāgavata religion with an independently developed Sāṅkhya. Keith defines it to be a confused mass of ideas representing various schools of thought. It is a world of chaos out of which it is impossible to deduce a system. It is a conglomeration of different systems and the only peculiarity is its theistic tinge. Deussen attempted to define the Epic philosophy in his 'Four philosophical texts of the Bhārata,' as representing the transitional stage of thought, the philosophy of the Epic age, midway between the Vedic and the Classical epochs, during which period there took place a transition from the Idealism of the Upaniṣads to the Realism of the classical Sāṅkhya. Historically speaking the Epic must represent a transitional stage of thought. But that does not preclude us from defining its

philosophy as eclectic, especially as it has received so many additions in the course of ages.

Besides the Idealism of the Upaniṣads, there existed the schools of Cārvāka. The Upaniṣads themselves, either singly or as a whole, did not present single system of thought. During the long period of transition from the early Upaniṣads to the Mahābhārata, Indian thought was in a state of turmoil. There were many currents and cross currents running against one another. It has been said that free speculations in the east of the Midland were mostly atheistic and later on culminated in such systems as Buddhism and Jainism, in the West there developed a theistic system with a personal God, and in the Midland, throve the doctrine of the Upaniṣads. And nearly all these types of thought are found in the Epic making its teaching miscellaneous in character. The authors of the work, whoever they might be, have not attempted a deliberate selection of the philosophic material with a definite system in view. They have collected together those half-philosophic and half-narrative 'Itihāsa-saṃvādas' which were current at the time among the people and which had a bearing on the 'Mokṣa-dharma'. The first point to be noted therefore is that the Mokṣadharma does not contain any single doctrine either fully systematised or in the process of systematisation. It is to be taken as a more or less heterogeneous collection of many doctrines known at the time, even after making sufficient allowance for interpolations that certainly have crept into the work during the long period of its growth.

Under the circumstances, the only thing we can do is to analyse the teaching as it is found into its various elements. While the whole teaching can be characterised in no definite way either as Vedānta or Sāṅkhya, or something like it, the elements of it generally fall, as will be seen, under one or other of the commonly known varieties of Indian thought. This 'non-descript' character, however, applies only to the metaphysical side of the teaching. There is another side, viz.,

the practical, which readily admits of being definitely described. From this side we may say that there is even a certain measure of consistency in the teaching of the section. This consistent teaching is asceticism "a fact which greatly influenced and gave a particular shape to Indian religion". The asceticism that is taught is, no doubt, not precisely the same everywhere. There are differences of greater or less importance in details. But yet as asceticism, it is one. The Mokṣa-dharma indeed begins with the exposition of the ascetic theory of life in answer to the question of the dejected Yudhiṣṭhira.

But there is also a comparatively minor current of thought, viz., theism. It is prominent only in the dialogue between Mr̥tyu and Prajāpati and in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the book and there it becomes more conspicuous than asceticism itself. In the Nārāyaṇīya teaching especially, asceticism is absorbed into the theistic teaching and appears in some form as one of its elements. Elsewhere, however, theism emerges to the surface only occasionally and asceticism is the regular teaching.

Asceticism on the one hand and theism on the other are both in harmony with the popular character of the Epic. On *a priori* grounds we can easily see why these two as theories appeal to the common people. But this is not all. There is also historical evidence for concluding that they did so appeal to the people about the time when the Bhārata was composed. Asceticism began as a reaction against the ritualism already found in the late Mantras and underwent further elaboration in the Brāhmaṇa period. The Brāhmaṇas were entirely concerned with the sacrifice. The religion they promulgated was the religion of the 'priests' and not of the common people. This religion of the sacrifice became developed to such an extent that sacrifice by itself was regarded as possessing some mystical potency. The ideas of sacrifice in the abstract which appears in some of the Brāhmaṇas pushed the ceremonial gods themselves into obscurity and even the materials

used in the sacrifice became objects of adoration. There was nothing, neither idea nor action, which had not some connection with sacrifice. In fact sacrifice was considered the essence of the whole world. This religion had no intimate connection with the life of the common people. The conservative spirit of the priestly class and the caste duties made it impossible for the non-priestly class to perform any sacrifice without the assistance of a priest. Accordingly in sacrifice, hired priests played an active part, while the sacrificer only a passive one. This meant that the ordinary man had no way to exert himself in religious affairs, and feel and live the ideal life. But 'a religious man will always desire to exert himself for the attainment of perfection according to the light that is given to him.' Asceticism came as a boon to the common people. It appears to have first originated among the liberal section of the Brāhmaṇas and adopted wholesale in later times by the common people. The liberal Brāhmaṇa thought that by ascetic practices he could attain ends desirable for himself as the priest would get by sacrifice. Accordingly a clear distinction was made between the two methods, and asceticism in some form or other stood in opposition to the hieratic religion. In this connection, it is pertinent to quote what Dr. Winternitz says about the existence in Indian literature of the two opposing elements of thought : "Now, I believe, that this Parivrājaka or Śramaṇa or Ascetic literature has been preserved to us to a much greater extent than Leumann thought. It is to be chiefly found in the didactic parts of the Mahābhārata and occasionally also in the Purāṇas. This Ascetic literature is partly pre-Buddhistic and traces of it are already found in the Upaniṣads, partly contemporaneous with Buddhist and Jaina literature. If there had not been two different representatives of intellectual and spiritual life in India, how could we explain the constant occurrence of the phrase, Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas in the Buddhist sacred texts, of Samana-bambhana in Asoka's inscriptions, and the distinctions, Megasthenes

makes between Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (Brahmanai and Sarmanai)."

The theism of the Nārāyaṇīya, again, is eventually to be traced to a reaction against the speculative absolutism of the Upaniṣads. Epic theism partly goes back to the monotheism of the late mantras and so far it is a natural development of the old belief. For, at the close of the Brāhmaṇa period, Prajāpati became the highest and the only God, and on the rise of new Vedic gods like Viṣṇu, Rudra, and Nārāyaṇa high in the esteem, he gradually lost his position. Viṣṇu and later, Nārāyaṇa, became the supreme god-head of this Vedic monotheism. Epic theism reflects both the positions of Prajāpati. In the Mṛtyu-Prajāpati dialogue, for instance, Prajāpati is the highest god. He has been there described as the 'Lord of the Universe' and as the 'God of gods,' bestowing boons upon a minor god, Sthānu, and deputing the goddess Mṛtyu (Death) to carry on his own work of destruction on earth (256, 20-21 ; 257, 17-20).

But in the Nārāyaṇīya it is Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu (for both have already been identified) is 'the supreme god ; and Prajāpati who is no other than Brahman is a 'Creature' of Nārāyaṇa. This theism of the Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa cult was amalgamated with the well-developed theism of the Vāsudeva cult and the result is the theism of the Nārāyaṇīya. This theism, may be represented as a reaction against ritualism, for, it stands opposed to the religion of the sacrifice, which made sacrifice more important than the God or gods to whom it was offered. But in the main it is the result of a reaction against the abstract teaching of the earlier Upaniṣads.

An examination of the material that has been worked up into the Mokṣadharma shows that the Epic was mainly intended to appeal to the common people. The larger part of it is in the nature of legends and stories probably current for a long time among the common people. The stories, which are in the form of dialogues, saṃvādas, are almost

always described as 'Ithihāsas' implying thereby their antiquity (cf. Ithihāsaṃ purātaṇaṃ,) and suggesting that currency among the people was the only guarantee for their genuineness. Sometimes they are described as Gītā or 'Song,' (cf. Maṅki Gītā, Piṅgala Gītā, Bodhya Gītā), which points to the fact that there were metrical statements or songs which enshrined a religious or philosophic doctrine suggested by deep experience in life. Such half-narrative and half-philosophic dialogues are also found in the Upaniṣads and the Tripitaka. These two elements, forming the chief stuff of the Epic, suggest its popular origin in the ballads which were recited by the common people at the religious or secular festival. It also implies a contrast with the scriptural teaching which had a different source. While the latter quotes scripture for its authority, the former, an old Gītā or Itihāsa for its support.

R. R. IYENGAR

Rasātala or the Under-World

V

The Rakṣas or Rākṣasas and the Yakṣas are said to be the descendants of Kaśyapa by his wife Khasā.¹ Rāvaṇa, in his expedition to Rasātala, killed Vidyujjihva, the husband of his sister Sūrpaṇakhā, who is mentioned as a Rākṣasas and Yakṣas. Rākṣasī.² The Rākṣasas evidently derived their name from the river Araxes, on the banks of which they originally lived. Most probably their original name was Arakṣṣ but like the Amardi who were called

¹ *Padma P.*, Sṛṣṭi kh. 7: *Khasā tu yakṣarakṣāṃsi janayāmāsa koṭīṣa.*

² *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 23.

Mardi, a tribe which lived on the shore of the Caspian Sea, and like the Armenians who were called Rāmanīyakas, they were called Rakṣa instead of Arakṣa, by the elision of the initial *a*. They were very likely the tribe called Arachoti which lived close to the Massagetæ and the Bactrians, mentioned by Strabo.¹ Arachoti is evidently composed of *Araka* which is a corruption of Araxes and *ti* which is a contraction of *te-le* or *tie-le* meaning the Huns. There can be no doubt that the Araxes is the Jaxartes, as it flowed through the country of the Massagetæ who from all accounts lived on the banks of the Jaxartes.² Like the Massagetæ and other Scythic tribes the Rakṣas were cannibals.³ The Rākṣasas are mentioned in the Avesta, where it is said : "Away, do I abjure the iniquitous of every kind who act as Rakṣas act."⁴ The Rakṣas therefore were a Hunnic tribe, and were Turanians and not the aborigines of India as have been supposed by some writers. The Yakṣas were a tribe of Rakṣas. Rāvaṇa, the king of the Rakṣas, was a step-brother of Kuvera, the king of the Yakṣas.⁵ The Yakṣas apparently derived their name from the Yaxartes (Jaxartes), on the banks of which they lived with the Rakṣas. The Buddhist stories of Hārīta-yakṣinī, who devoured the children of Rājagrha, and of Vakula-yakṣa show that the Yakṣas were also cannibals.⁶ They were proverbially black, which indicates that they were the "black or sun-burnt Huns of the north."⁷ In the Indian folk-lore the Yakṣas are represented as the

1 Strabo, bk. xi, ch. viii, 8 (vol. ii, p. 248).

2 *Ibid.*, bk. xi, ch. viii, 6 (vol. ii, p. 247) ; Herodotus, bk. I, ch. 201 ; see also *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv, p. 3 ; Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, ch. vi.

3 Hamilton and Falconer's *Strabo*, vol. I, pp. 299, 464.

4 *Yasna* xii in *S.B.E.*, vol. xxxi, p. 249.

5 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 13.

6 See *I-tsing*, bk. i, 9 ; Beal's *Records of Eastern Countries*, vol. I, p. 110 note ; vol. ii, p. 191.

7 See *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 565.

guardians of buried treasures like the 'Leprechauns' with their pot of gold in the fairy tales of Europe.

The Siddhas, who appear according to the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*¹ to have lived on the north of the Niṣāda or the Hindukush mountain, were undoubtedly the Siddhas. Sydracæ or Oxydracæ mentioned by Megasthenes and other writers,² who lived close to Mount Nysa, and are said to have been the followers of Bacchus who has been identified with Śiva.³ They lived most probably near the source of the Oxus. Perhaps a colony of this tribe dwelt in the Punjab near Multan at the time of Alexander's invasion and were known as Sudrakas; they were the ally of the Mālavas or Malloi of the Greeks.

The Gandharvas were not also the aborigines of India. They represent the Gandarians mentioned by Herodotus⁴ and Gandharvas. perhaps Gadha of the Avesta,⁵ and Gadha is synonymous with Śaka or Scythian, and Śaka is a synonym for "a thief who carries off cattle." It is remarkable that in the Behistun inscription (516 B.C.), in the fifth year of the reign of Darius, Gadara is mentioned among his conquered countries. Gadara has been considered to be the same as Gandhāra or Gandharva-deśa.⁶ It should be stated here that the Gandarians and the Dadicæ fought under one commander Artypheus, and not with the Indians under Pharnazathres, in the army of Xerxes.⁷ Hence it is very probable that the Gandharvas were the Gandarian tribe of Scythians. According to Rawlinson, the Gandarians held

1 *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 44.

2 *Strabo*, bk. xv, i, 8 (vol. iii, p. 76).

3 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. III note.

4 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. vii, ch. 66 (vol. ii, p. 147).

5 *S.B.E.*, vol. xxiii, p. 161.

6 See my *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India* s. v. *Gandhāra*.

7 *Herodotus*, bk. vii, chs. 65, 66 (vol. ii, pp. 145, 147).

Kabul and the mountain tract on both sides of the Kabul river as far as the upper course of the Indus.¹

The Kinnaras appear to be the Kimmerii of Strabo. With regard to this tribe Herodotus says : "The wandering Scythians once dwelt in Asia, and there warred with the Massagetæ, but with little success ; they therefore quitted Kinnaras.

their homes, crossed the Araxes, and entered the land Cimmeria. For the land which is now inhabited by the Scythians was formerly the country of the Cimmerians."² They must have therefore lived on the northern side of the Jaxartes. The sculptural representation of a kinnara is the figure of a bird with the face of a human being, though it is often described as having the shape of a man with the face of a horse, perhaps in conformity with the idea conveyed by the term 'kin nara,' the literal meaning of which is "Is this a man ?" As the kinnaras were heavenly musicians, the figure of the bird perhaps represents their proficiency in singing, and the face of the horse, which represents a long face, indicates their Turkish origin. The Kimmerii originally lived on the Caucasus and they were considered to be an almost mythical race.³ They evidently afterwards lived at the Ust Urt plateau in Kharizm, and "the inhabitants of Kharizm formerly had the fame of being proficient in the art of music."⁴

The names of towns, rivers, etc., mentioned in the Purāṇas confirm that Rasātala was Śākadvīpa or Scythia. In the Bhogavatī. Rāmāyaṇa⁵ we find the names of the following

towns and places : Bhogavatī, Aśma, Manimayī, Varuṇa-pura, Bali-ālaya and Kṣīrada-sāgara. The town of Bhogavatī was guarded by Vāsukī. The word *Bhogavatī* is

1 Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, vol. iv, p. 20.

2 Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, bk. iv, ch. xi, 33 (vol. I, p. 291).

3 Maspero's *Passing of the Empires*, p. 342.

4 Conolly's *Journey to the North of India*, vol. I, p. 179.

5 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 23.

is the Sankritised form of *Bākhdhī* mentioned in the Avesta¹ which was the ancient name of Balkh,—the Bactria of the Greeks. It was the capital of Bactriana, which was subverted by the Scythians in 135 B.C.,² and it was called Um-ul-Bilad, “the mother of cities.” It contained formerly many fine palaces and buildings of marble, the ruins of which existed at the time of Marco Polo in the 14th century A.D.³ It is said to have been the ornament of all Ariana.⁴ The opulence, prosperity and fame of Bhogavatī (Balkh) or Bactria was due to the fact it was the emporium of Asiatic commerce.⁵ Bactria, according to Strabo, was also called Zariaspa, and it stood upon a river of the same name which emptied itself into the river Oxus,⁶ and the river was evidently called Bhogavatī, the river Bactrus of Curtius, from the famous town situated upon it.⁷ Burnes thinks that Zariaspa is a corruption Shahr-i-Sabz (Kesh) in the kingdom of Bokhara, the birth-place of Nadir Shah.⁸ Bhogavatī is also called Pātālapura,⁹ as it was the capital of the province of Pātāla. It is stated in the Mahābhārata¹⁰ that Śeṣa Nāga, who represents “Sse” of Sogdiana, resided at this place. Pātāla, therefore, as a province, comprised both Bactriana and Sogdiana, the river Oxus flowing between them. Strabo also says that the Sacæ occupied Bactriana and Sogdiana,¹¹ as stated before. Burnes says, “Balkh boasts an antiquity beyond

1 *Vendidad*, ch. I (*S. B. E.*, vol. I, p. 2).

2 Professor E. J. Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 118.

3 Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 151.

4 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xi.

5 Hamilton and Falconer's *Strabo*, vol. I, p. 23, note 2.

6 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xi, 8.

7 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 211.

8 *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 6.

9 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 98.

10 *Ibid.*, ch. 102.

11 *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. viii, 4; Hamilton and Falconer's *Strabo*, vol. ii, pp. 246, 240 note.

most other cities in the globe" and that its ruins extend over a circuit of about twenty miles.¹

The town of Aśma is the same as Aksu, the Oxiana of the Greeks. It was the head-quarters of the Aśma. province of Vaksh or Aksu, situated between the river Oxus and its tributary called Vaksh or Aksu, the Ochus of Strabo, in the country of Sogdiana.² The river Oxus, which is the Okos of the Greeks, formed the boundary between Bactriana and Sogdiana. It derived its name from its tributary, the Vaksh or Aksu,³ evidently called Aśma by the Aryans, and therefore in the R̥g Veda⁴ the Oxus is called Aśmanvatī from its tributary, just as it is called Bhogavatī Gaṅgā in the Purāṇas,⁵ from its tributary called Bhogavatī or Bākhdhī river, the Bactrus of Quintus Curtius,⁶ on which Bākhdhī or Balkh is situated. The river Aksu (Vaksh) is the Vakṣu of the Matsya Purāṇa,⁷ Vam̐kṣu of the Bhāgavata,⁸ Cakṣu of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa,⁹ Ikṣu of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa,¹⁰ all these names being some forms or variants of Aksu. Aśma was the capital of Sogdiana, which was Rasātala proper, being situated in the basin between the Jaxartes (the Rasā of the R̥g-Veda) and the Oxus, and Rasātala is the same as Pātāla. The name of Pātālapura was originally applied to Aśma, as it is said in the Vāmana Purāṇa¹¹ that "Aśmaka is the foremost city of Pātāla," and

1 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 204.

2 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, Intro., p. xxii, note 1.

3 *Ibid.*, Intro., p. xxii, note 1 ; Dr. Modi's *Ancient Pātāliputra* in *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 520.

4 *R̥g-Veda*, x, 53-8.

5 *Bṛhad-dharma P.*, Madhya, ch. 22, v. 50.

6 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 211.

7 *Matsya P.*, ch. 101, quoted in the *Śabdakalpa druma*, s. v. *nadī*.

8 *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 17.

9 *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 51.

10 *Viṣṇu P.*, ii, ch. iv.

11 *Vāmana P.*, ch. 10, v. 56.

there cannot be the slightest doubt that the seat of government was afterwards removed to Bhogavatī (Bākhdhī) or Balkh which has since been called Pātālapura, for we do not hear of the name of Markanda or modern Samarkand, which was destroyed by Alexander the Great in the 4th century B. C.¹ in any of the ancient works of the Hindus. Aśma evidently existed before Markanda became the capital of Sogdiana. Though the Mahābhārata² does not mention the name of Aśma, yet it appears from a chapter of the Udyoga Parva that it refers to it by the name of Pātālapura, which does not evidently mean Bhogavatī, as the latter is mentioned elsewhere as a town different from Pātālapura.³ It says that all the Brahmins of Pātāla were devoted to the performance of *Go-vrata* or the rites relating to *Go* or cow. It should be stated that the ancient names of Sogdiana appear to have been "Gau" and "Sughda", and it was the second of the sixteen localities created by Ahura Mazda.⁴ The words "Sughda," "Sogd" and "Sogdiana" were perhaps considered to have been the growth upon the word *Gau* or perhaps variants of the word *sughur* which in Turkish means *cow*.⁵ It is also related in the Vendidad⁶ that Angra Mainyu, the evil spirit, thereupon counter-created the fly called 'Skaitya' which brings death to ox and cattle. Hence it will be remarked that *Go-vrata* is mentioned in connection with Pātāla in conformity only with its name of *Gau* which means a cow. It is also mentioned that near Pātālapura, fire is continually burning.⁷ This, of course, refers to the spring of oil which according to Strabo⁸ existed near the river Ochus which is identical with the river Vakhsh, or Aksu and it appears also

1 Strabo, bk. xi, ch. xi, 4.

2 Mbh., Udyoga, ch. 98.

3 Ibid., Udyoga, chs. 98, 102.

4 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 5.

5 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 216.

7 Vendidad, ch. 1 in S.B.E, vol. iv, pp. 5, 6.

8 Mbh., Udyoga, ch. 98.

9 Strabo, bk. xi, ch. xi, 5.

hat there are still petroleum wells in the country around Samarkand and Ferghana, the capital of which is Khokand.¹ All these circumstances show that Pātālapura of the Mahābhārata was Aśma, the capital of Sogdiana. Aśma was inhabited by the daityas called Kālakeyas. The Kālakeyas were the Kara-Asavana of the Avesta mentioned with the "Turanian Danus" (Dānavas) and "the most mighty Duraekatea" (Daitya) who were the enemies of the Aryans. The word Aśma means a *stone* and the word *Asabana* means 'one who kills with a stone' (*Asan-ban*), the sling being, as it seems, the favourite weapon of the Danus (Yast, xiii, 38)². Hence Asabana was a descriptive epithet of *Kara*, the Sanskritised form of which is *Kāla*, both the words meaning black, and there can be no doubt that from Asavana the name of the town Aśma was derived. The word *Kālakeya* is a pleonastic and derivative form of *Kāla* or *Kara*. These Kara-Asavanas or Kālakeyas were evidently Kara-niru which is another name for the Hiung-nu or Huns.³ It is curious that in the ancient map of Sogdiana there is a town by the name of Petra Sogdiana which means the same thing as Aśma, the word *Petra* meaning *stone*; it was situated on the north of Oxiana. It should also be remarked that the Mahābhārata⁴ in connection with another tribe of Huns named Nivāta-Kavaca relates that they were quite adepts in 'raining down stones unseen upon their enemies.' This evidently means that the Daityas or the Huns, as a class, were expert sling throwers. The Bhāgavata⁵ distinctly says that the Nivāta-Kavachas and other Kālakeyas lived in the sphere called Rasātala. The derivation of the word *Pātāla* as given in the Mahābhārata⁶ seems to be based on this idea. It says that *Pāta* means *fall* and *Akam* means

1 *Contemporary Review*, October, 1921, p. 504.

2 *Ābān Yast* (v) 73, (S.B.E., vol. xxiii, p. 71).

3 Beal's *Records of the Western Countries*, vol. I, p. 20 n; 37n.

4 *Mbh.* Vana, chs. 170, 171.

5 *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 24.

6 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 98.

great; therefore the word *Pātāla* means a "great fall," and the Mahābhārata interprets this as the melting of the Moon and other aqueous bodies in the shape of rain by the sound produced by Vedic students when chanting the Vedic hymns. This is of course the esoteric meaning of the word *Pātāla*. But it seems that the "Great fall" or "*Pātāla*" meant great fall of stones like pattering rains showered upon the enemies by the inhabitants of *Pātāla*, that is, the Epthalites or Nephthalities, a powerful tribe of the Huns, who lived on or about the banks of the Jaxartes and who like other Hunnic tribes were proficient in hurling stones with their slings. Śāka-dvīpa is evidently the Sanskritised form of Sog-dia or Sog-dia-na, as Śālnala-dvīpa is of Chal-dia, though the term Śākadvīpa was applied to the whole region known by the name of Scythia.

Mañimayī of Rāmāyaṇa is the modern Maymene. It is situated to the south-west of Balkh and to the south-east of Marv or Meru of the Hindus and Meru or Maru of the Turks,¹ the capital of Margiana,—the Mrga Mañimayī. of the Purāṇas, and about half-way between Balkh and the river Murghab. It is twenty-two miles from Andkhuy. The ancient town of Nisaya or Nisa, one of the sixteen localities created by Ahura Mazda, was situated near Maymene.² The city of Maymene stands in the midst of hills and was a place of renowned strength.³ From strategical point of view it must have been a great and natural stronghold of the Huns in olden times before the modern ordnance was invented, and it was renowned for the bravery of its defenders. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, it was inhabited by the Daityas called Nivāta-Kavaca. *Nivāta* is a corruption

1 *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 16, V. 38; Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 20 31.

2 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 5 note.

3 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 240.

of Neph-tele, or the Nephthalites, which is one of the general names for the Huns, and *Kavaca* is a corruption of Kaptchak of Deguignes, Kiptchak of Vambery, or Kipechak of Burnes. They were a wild and warlike nomadic tribe who had no home before the time of Jenghis Khan.¹ The word *Nivāta-Kavaca* therefore means the Kapchak Huns. Their original abode appears to have been Desht-i-Kipchak, or the "Steppes" or "Plain" of Kipchak, by which is meant that portion of the Turanian highlands which is immediately to the east of the Caspian Sea, and it appears that there is still a country by the name of Kipchak which appertains to the kingdom of Khiva.² The *Mahābhārata* also says that Arjuna conquered the Nivāta-Kavacas of Dānavapura situated on the shore of *Mahāsāgara* or the Great Sea, by which is evidently meant the Caspian Sea.³ Vambery says, "The Kiptchaks are, in my opinion, the primitive original Turkish race," and their descendants claim that "Desht-i-Kiptchak as Turkestan is named in the documents of oriental history was conquered and peopled by their ancestors."⁴ Maymene is still inhabited by the Uzbegs⁵ who are mentioned to have their original home in Desht-i-Kiptchak⁶; at least they claim their connection with the Kiptchaks.⁷ The Uzbegs are now in possession of Transoxiana, that is the tract between the Oxus and the Jaxartes.⁸

1 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 397.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 342; Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, note 2; Deguignes' *Histoire des Huns*, vol. ii, p. lxix; Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 341.

3 *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 166.

4 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, pp. 382, 383.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 249.

6 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, 244, note 2.

7 *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 345, note.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 367; Elphinstone's *History of India*, pp. 264, 266.

Varuṇapura was evidently Aornos, one of the two principal cities of Bactriana at the time of Alexander's invasion, the other city being Bactria or Balkh.¹ But it appears that at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa Varuṇapura was under the dominion of the Surabhis or Khorasmii.²

Bali-ālaya or the house of king Bali was evidently Balkh, the ancient names of which were Bactria and Bākhdhī, the Bhogavatī of the Purāṇas. It is stated that the Bali-ālaya. Turks about the second century B. C. subverted the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and erected an empire which lasted till the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era. The name of the capital was changed from Bretria into Balkh. The word *Balkh* is nothing but the old Turkish word *Balikh* which, according to the Turks, meant 'the residence of the sovereign, that is the capital.'³ *Bali-ālaya* has not only been evolved out of the word *Balikh*, that is from "the residence of a king" into "the residence of king Bali," but the further development of the story of Bali and Vāmana, which was extant during the Vedic period, appears to have been based upon this word at a subsequent period. That Bali-ālaya is the same as Bhogavatī appears to be confirmed by the Rāmāyaṇa. It is related that Rāvaṇa entered Rasātala or Pātāla through a hole, and the first city he entered was Bhogavatī, and after conquering Varuṇapura, he entered Bali-ālaya or "Bali's residence", and came out of Rasātala without going anywhere else through, the same hole, through which he had entered it.⁴ Bāhika of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa⁵ and of the Brhat-saṃhitā⁶ is the same as

1 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 39.

2 Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara, ch. 23 ; *Raghuvaṃśa*, I, v. 80.

3 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 11.

4 Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara, ch. 24.

5 *Bhaviṣya P.*, Pratisarga, pt. iii, ch. 2.

6 *Brhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 18 ; *JSAB.*, 1838, p. 630.

Balikh or Balkh. Bālḥika has been abbreviated into Bālḥika in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.¹ Bali-ālaya or Bali-sadma is synonymous with Pātālapura; it became the capital of Pātāla after the seat of government was removed from Aśma or Akṣu. Balkh formerly covered a distance of five leagues; at present only a few heaps of earth mark the site of ancient Bactria.² Bactria or Balkh, that is, Bhogavatī or Bali-ālaya, is situated in the country called Tu-ho-lo by Hiuen Tsang; it is Tukhāra or Tuṣāra of the Purāṇas³ and Tokaristan of the Arab geographers.⁴ Tokaristan or Turkestan therefore was the Sutala sphere of the Purāṇas, where king Bali is said to have been kept confined. According to tradition Zoroaster was slain at Balkh in the holy war between Iran and Turan⁵ It was one of the Haitalite centres.⁶ In the middle ages Balkh became the capital of Islamic civilisation and was designated Kubbet-ul-Islam (the home of Islam) and Omm-el-Bul-dan (the mother of cities).⁷

Besides Bhogavatī, the Mahābhārata mentions two other cities called Pātālapura and Hiranyapura and a lake called Pātālapura.

Vāruṇa-hrada in Rasūtala. Pātālapura, as already stated, was originally the name of Aśma and afterwards of Balkh, which were the capitals of Pātāla. Patanti-nagara of Pātāla, mentioned in the Devī Purāṇa,⁸ is evidently the same as Aśma; it was conquered by Asura Ghora, king of Kuśa-dvīpa.

We have already shown that Rāmaniyaka was Armenia. Romaka of the Br̥hat-saṃhitā is a corruption of Rāmaniyaka

1 *Bhaviṣya P.*, Pratisarga, pt. iii, ch. 3.

2 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 233.

3 *Mbh.*, Sabhā, ch. 31; *Br̥hat-saṃhitā*, ch. 16.

4 Beal's *Records of the Western Countries*, vol. I, p. 37 note.

5 *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. I, p. 858.

6 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 567.

7 Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 233.

8 *Devī-purāṇa*, ch. 3.

and the word still exists in Erzeroum (Arabic *Arzen-el-Roum*). The province of Van, which now appertains to it, formed in ancient time an independent kingdom and was known by the name of Biainas,¹ the Vanāyu of the Purāṇas. The Rohita Parvata of Śālmala-dvīpa appears to be Mount Ararat.

Hiranyapura is mentioned as the capital of the Dāuvas called Nivāta-Kavaca and the Daityas.² It is, as we have already shown identical with Hyrcania, Hiranyapura, an old town near Astrabad on the south-eastern side of the Caspian Sea, in Mazenderan, the scene of Rustom's adventures against the "white Devas" or demons. The name of its king Hiranya-kaśipu represents the Kaspī who lived on the shore of the Hiranya or the Hyrcanian Sea.

The name of Bokhara has not been mentioned in any of the Purāṇas, as it did not become the capital of Tartary, that is the region between the Oxus and the Bhuṣkara or Puṣkara. Jaxartes, "the vale, called by the Romans, Transoxiana or Transoxania till the time of the Samanidus, when Emir Ismail removed the seat of his government from Marakanda, the modern Samarkand, the capital of Sogdia or Sogdiana, to this place which is 120 miles from Samarkand."³ The ancient Iranian name was Jemu-ket or Jem-kot, which was changed into the Turanian name of Bokhara when the Turks invaded Transoxania, the first invasion having taken place, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson, in the year 700 B. C.⁴ Elphinstone also thinks that the Turks had settled in Transoxiana long before the Christian era.⁵ According to Dr. Spiegel *Bukhar* "is even now the Mongolian word for a Bud-

1 Maspero's *Passing of the Empires*, p. 55.

2 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 97; *Śiva P.*, IV, ch. 4; *Pudma P.*, I, ch. 6.

3 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, Intro., p. xxvii, p. 66.

4 *Quarterly Review*, 1863, p. 491.

5 Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 266.

dhist temple or a monastery.”¹ *Bhuṣkara* is the Sanskritised form of *Bukhar*; it is mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*; it was conquered by Lalitāditya, king of Kashmir, in the 8th century A. D. Puṣkara of the *Matsya Purāṇa*² is a corruption or variant of *Bhuṣkara*. Puṣkara is mentioned in the *Harivaṃśa* as the place where Viṣṇu killed the *Daitya* named *Madhu*.³ Perhaps *Bokhara* is referred to in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* by the name of *Taittiri-nagara* or the city of *Tartary*.⁴ But the ancient Iranian name of *Jem-ket* or *Jem-kot* (*Jamakot*) which, according to *Abulfeda*, “was considered as the eastern end of the habitable world” has been preserved by the Hindus and absorbed in their astronomical terminology as *Yamakoti*, signifying now the most eastern point of the world on the equator from the meridian of *Laṅkā*.⁵ The ruins of *Bykund* (*Baikunṭha?*), one of the most ancient cities in *Turkestan*, lie about twenty miles to the south of *Bokhara* which did not then exist.

Bibhāvarī of the *Bhāgavata*⁶ was *puri* or town of *Varuṇa* in *Pātāla* where *Hiraṇyākṣa* was killed. It appears to be a corruption of *Bāveru* of the *Bāveru Jātaka*,⁷ *Bibhāvarī*. *Bamri* of the *R̥gveda*⁸ and *Bawri* of the *Avesta*. *Bāveru* is the Sanskritised form of *Babiru* or *Bapilu*, the ancient name of *Babylon* as it appears from the *Behistun* inscription,⁹ mentioned as *Pripru* in the *R̥g-veda*.¹⁰ From the inscription of *Boghaz-Keui* it appears that the

1 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 14.

2 *Matsya P.*, ch. 120, p. 44.

3 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 202; *Bhaviṣya P.* chs. 24, 25 (M. N. Dutt's trans., pp. 881, 884).

4 *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, *Pratisarga Parva*, pt. iii.

5 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 2, note 2.

6 *Bhāgavata*, iii, ch. 17.

7 *Jātaka* (Camb. ed.), vol. vi, p. 83.

8 *JASB.*, 1909, p. 407; *R̥g Veda*, iv, 19, 9; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiv, 1, 1, 8, 14.

9 *JRAS.*, vol. xv, pp. 9, 1692.

10 *R̥g Veda*, I, 51; I, 4.

Mittanians of Northern Mesopotamia (which included Babylon) worshipped Mitra and Varuṇa, who were also the gods of the Iranians and Indo-Aryans when they lived together in Ariana. Varuṇa was the prototype of Ahura Mazda as supposed by Professor Meyer.¹ “*Ilani Uru-w-na*” of the inscription, in the Babylonian language, means god Varuṇa. As Babylon contained the temple or “Citadel” and the tomb of Bel or Belus, the Bala Asura of the Bhāgavata,² it was situated in the sphere called *Atala*. Belus was king of Babylon; it was he who first introduced the celebrated Chaldian astronomy into that city. There was trade connection between India and Babylon, and the trade routes have been described by Layard and Isidora of Charax.³ Babylon is situated on the Euphrates, the Vivṛti of the Garuḍa Purāṇa, and Nivṛti of the other Purāṇas, which rises from the mountain called Nephates in which it has got its source. The Rohita mountain of Śālmala-dvīpa is perhaps the Sanskritised form of mount Ararat.

The rivers of Rasātala are the Oxus, the Jaxartes and the Zarafshan. The Oxus, which is also called Amudaria (*Amu* being a variant of *Aśma*), is the Aśmanvatī of the The Oxus. *Rg-veda*.⁴ As a river of Śākadvīpa it is called Cakṣu, Vakṣu, Vaṃkṣu, Ikṣu and Sucakṣu in the Purāṇas,⁵ all these names being variations of Akṣu, a great branch of the Oxus, from which the name of

1 *JASB.*, 1909, pp. 723, 724; *Contemporary Review*, 1921, Dec., p. 767; *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xii, 3.

2 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 24.

3 Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. II, pp. 413, 414; *Parthian Stations* by Isidora of Charax, translated by Mr. Wilfred Schoff.

4 *Rg-veda*, X, 53, 8.

5 Their names are mentioned in *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 51; *Matsya P.*, ch. 101; *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 17; *Viṣṇu P.*, pt. II, ch. 4; *Kūrma P.*, ch. 46.

Oxus is derived.¹ The Oxus is called the Bhogavati-gaṅgā and the Pātāla-gaṅgā of Rasātala, the former name it has received from a branch of the river called Bactrus on which Bākhdhi or Bhogavati, the Bactria of the Greeks is situated² and it is called Pātāla-gaṅgā as it flows through the "sphere" or province of Pātāla, that is, between Bactriana and Sogdiana. The river was held in respect by the Hindus as it formed the principal trade-route for conveying large quantities of Indian merchandise to the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea, whence through the Cyrus they were transported to the Euxine and the Mediterranean;³ hence it was called "Gaṅgā" by the Hindus. The Oxus issues from the Sarik-kul lake in the Great Pamir, which by some authority is identified with the Anavatapta lake of the Buddhists, and there can be no doubt that a branch of the river formerly flowed into the Caspian Sea through an ancient course which still exists, though it now falls into Lake Aral.⁴

The Jaxartes, which is also called Jaj (Djadj)⁵ and Syrdaria, is the Rasā of the Ṛg-veda, the Raṅghā of the Avestā⁶ the Araxes of Scythia, the Śilā of the Mahābhā-
 The Jaxar- rata,⁷ perhaps the Gabhastī of the Purāṇa⁸
 tes. and Sila of Megasthenes. Strabo mentions three rivers by the name of Araxes; the Araxes of Armenia,⁹ the modern Aras on the northern boundary of Media, the

¹ Dr. Modi's *Ancient Pātāliputra* in *JBBRAS.*, xxiv, p. 520.

² *Bṛhad-dharma P.*, Madhya, ch. 22, v. 50; Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 211.

³ *Geography of Strabo*, (by Hamilton and Falconer), vol. I, p. 113; vol. II, p. 243; Robertson's *America*, bk. I.

⁴ Beal's *Records of the Western Countries*, vol. I, p. 12 note.

⁵ Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 8.

⁶ Drs. Keith and Macdonell's *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. II, p. 209; *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 532.

⁷ *Mbh.* Bhīṣma, ch. 11.

⁸ *Viṣṇu P.*, ii, ch. 4.

⁹ *Geography of Strabo*, vol. ii, p. 217.

Araxes of Persia,¹ the modern Bend-Amir, and the Araxes of Scythia.² The word *Jaxartes* appears to be a combination of the words *Jaj* and *Araxes* (of Scythia) in order to distinguish the latter from the Araxes of Armenia and the Araxes of Persia. From Syr-daria the Jaxartes is called Śilā and Sītā, the word *Syr* being a corruption of *Su-Rasā*³ (i. e. Su-Rasā), a local name of the Jaxartes. It should be stated that Gabhasti may more properly be identified with the Murgab or "the river of Mrga" or Margiana in Śākadvīpa. Araxes and Rasā are different forms of the same word. The Jaxartes rises in the same mountains as the Oxus, and falls into the sea of Aral.

The river Zarafshan, the ancient names of which are Sogd and Kohik, rises in the mountain called Fan-tau, perhaps the Phena-giri of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā⁴ and flowing a little to the north of Samarkand and Bokhara, falls into the lake called Kara-kul also called "Dengiz" or sea by the Uzbeks. It is called the "blessed" river, and Zarafshan means "scatterer" or "distributor of gold."⁵ It is the Hāṭaki-nadī of the Bhāgavata.⁶ Hiraṇvatī-nadī of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,⁷ and Hiranyavatī-nadī of the Mahābhārata mentioned by Fausböll.⁸ Hāṭakī, Hiraṇvatī and Hiranyavatī-nadī all mean the "golden river." Hāṭakī appears to be a corruption of Kohik. The Hāṭakī-nadī is situated in the Bi-tala "sphere" of Rasātala.⁹ The Kohik is the Polymetus of the Greeks, "a name imposed by

1 *Strabo*, vol. iii, p. 132.

2 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 247; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i, p. 302.

3 *JASB.*, 1911, p. 747.

4 Ch. xv, v. 20.

5 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, Introduction, pp. xxxii, xxxiii; *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 183; Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 285.

6 *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 24.

7 *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 60.

8 *Mbh.* VI, 210: see Fausböll's *Indian Mythology*, s. v. *Garuḍa* but in *Mbh.* Bhīṣma P. ch. 8, the river Hiraṇvatī is mentioned.

9 *Bhāgavata*, v, ch. 24.

the Macedonians, as they imposed many others, some of which were altogether new ; others were deflections from the native appellations.¹ The river is called the golden river as it brings fertility to the soil over which it flows and helps in the luxurious growth of its crops. Samarkand, which became the capital of the great empire founded by Timur, was called the paradise of the world on account of its great beauty and fertility brought about by this river. Elphinstone also speaking of Transoxiana in which Sogdiana is situated says, "while it was in the hands of the Arabs, it seems not to have been surpassed in prosperity by the richest portions of the globe."² According to the Purāṇas,³ Śiva was worshipped on the Hāṭakī-nadī or Zarafsan by the name of Hāṭakeśvara Mahādeva evidently by the Nāgas or Huns.

The mountain which is situated just on the outskirts of Rasātala is called Meru in the Rāmāyaṇa⁵ ; and Meru, according to the Mahābhārata,⁴ is also the name of a mountain of Śākadvīpa or Scythia, the Mount Meru Parvata. Meros of Arrian and Megasthenes,⁶ close to Mount Nysa or Niśādha Parvata of the Purāṇas, that is, the Paropanisos mountain of Ptolemy, which is evidently a corruption of *Parvata Niśādha*. It is therefore the Hindu-kush range.

The Śyāma-giri is also mentioned as a mountain of Śākadvīpa. It is evidently mount Śyāmaka of the Śyāma-giri. Avesta.⁶ Both Śyāma-giri and Śyāmaka mean the "Black Mountain" and the mountain therefore is the Mustagh mountain, which means the Black Mountain.

1 Strabo, bk. xi, ch. xi, 5.

2 Elphinstone's *History of India*, 4th ed., p. 264.

3 *Devī Bhāgavata*, pt. 8, ch. 19 ; *Devī*, chs. 82, 83.

4 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 25.

6 *Mbh.* Bhīṣma, ch. ii.

5 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 152, 180.

6 *Zamyād Yast* (XIX) in *S. B. E.*, vol. xxiii, p. 288, note 2 and 7 ; *Vendidad*, ch. I in *S. B. E.*, vol. iv, p. 7, note 8.

Durga-śaila¹ of Śāka-dvīpa, which means the "fort mountain," is evidently the same as the El-Burz which means "the Bastion mountain," and is situated on the southern side of the Caspian Sea; it is the Trikūṭa mountain of the Bhāgavata.² It was Mount Kaspios of the Greeks named after the Kaspīi, an extinct tribe, the Kacchapa of the Gaja-kacchapa story of the Mahābhārata. Both Śyāma-giri and Durga-śaila are part of Meru Parvata.

The Kusesaya is the Caucasus mountain, which is a corruption of Koh Kosh (Kus) or the mountain Kus of Kuśa-dvīpa.³

Varuṇa Hrada (lake) has been correctly identified with the Caspian Sea.⁴ It is mentioned both in the Rāmāyaṇa⁵ and the Mahābhārata⁶ as being situated in Rasātala. The Caspian Sea is the Hyrcanian Sea of Strabo,⁷ but the Avestic name of Hyrcania is Vehrkāna. There can be no doubt that "Vāruṇa" of the Vāruṇa-Hrada is a corruption of "Vehrkāna or "Vār kāna,"⁸ in other words, Vāruṇa Hrada is the Hyrcanian Sea; hence Vāruṇa Hrada could not have been derived from the name of the god Varuṇa. Though the legend makes it so, forgetting its true significance, the Caspian Sea is also called Mare Seruanicum or the Sea of Shirwan;⁹ Seruanicum or Shirwan is evidently a corruption of Hyrcania, though Shirwan has been identified with Albania.¹⁰ Shirwan has been further corrupted into Sarain,

1 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. ii.

2 *Bhāgavata*, viii, ch. 2.

3 *Varāha P.* ch. 87; Thornton's *Gazetteer of countries adjacent to India*, s. v. *Hindoo Koosh*.

4 Mr. Shib Chandra Seal's *Ārya-jātir Ādinivāsa*, p. 7.

5 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 23.

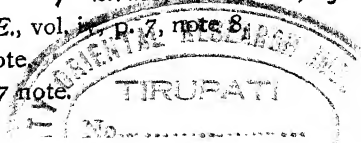
6 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 97.

7 *Strabo*, bk. ii, ch. i, 15.

8 *Vendidad*, ch. I, 12 (41) in *S. B. E.*, vol. ix, p. 7, note 8.

9 Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 59 note.

10 *Geography of Strabo*, vol. ii, p. 217 note.



and the Caspian Sea is called the Sea of Sarain.¹ Kṣīra-sāgara is the Sanskritised form of the sea of Shirwan; it is the sea of milk caused by the milk of the Surabhi cows (or Khorasmii), whose country Kharism (Khiva) is situated on the north-eastern side of the Caspian Sea. Surā-sāgara is the Sanskritised form of the Sea of Sarain. The Caspian Sea is also called Mahāsāgara in the Purāṇas. Badku generally called Baku on the west coast of the Caspian Sea is perhaps the Baḍavā of the Purāṇas, as it is famous for its naphtha springs and mud volcanoes, the "perpetual flame" mentioned in the Mahābhārata as existing in Varuṇa-hrada; it appears to have been a place of Hindu pilgrimage and was called Mahājvālāmukhī.²

It should be stated here that according to the ancient Hindu works, the then known world, that is, the whole of

Asia, was divided into seven Dvīpas, each Dvīpa being surrounded by a Sāgara. According to the Paurāṇic notion Sāgara did not mean Sea only, but also the ocean, sea, river or lake, as Dvīpa (Dvi-Apa) did not mean an island, but simply a division situated between two sheets of water, the original meaning of the term.³ The seven Dvīpas are Jambu, Śāka, Śālmala, Puṣkara, Kuśa, Krauñca and Plakṣa; and the seven Sāgaras are Lavaṇa (salt), Kṣīra (milk), Ghr̥ta (clarified butter), Ikṣu (sugarcane juice), Surā (wine), Dadhi (curd) and Svādu-jala (sweet water).⁴ For Plakṣa we have Gomeda in some Purāṇas⁵ and Śveta-dvīpa in the Mahābhārata,⁶ and for Svādu-jala we have Jala in some works.⁷ (1) Jambu-dvīpa or India was

1 Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 424.

2 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 97; McCulloch's *Geographical Dictionary* s. v. *Baku*; *Asiatic Researches*, v, p. 41.

3 Bhāṣkarācārya's *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, Golādhyāya, ch. 3, v. 35.

4 *Devī P.*, ch. 3.

5 *Matsya P.*, ch. 122; see *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 63, v. 6.

6 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. 12.

7 *Garuḍa P.*, Pūrva kh., ch. 54, v. 6.

bounded by the Lavaṇa (salt) Sāgara or the Indian Ocean. (2) Śāka-dvīpa or Scythia was bounded on its two sides by the Lavaṇa (salt) Sāgara or the Indian Ocean and by the Sea of *Kṣīra*¹ (milk), which, as stated before, is a corruption of the Sea of *Shirwan*, a name of the Caspian Sea² The Caspian Sea therefore formed its northern boundary, while the Indian Ocean formed its southern boundary. Śāka-dvīpa was originally the Sanskritised form of Sog-dia or Sog-dia-na on the Rasā or Jaxartes, though the term was afterwards extended to the whole of Scythia. (3) Śālmala-dvīpa (i. e. the Sanskritised form of Chal-dia) had for its boundary the Sea of *Ghṛta*³ which is clearly a corruption of the *Erythrean* Sea or the Sea of *Erythras*, which was either the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, most probably the latter.⁴ The Rohita Parvata of Śālmala-dvīpa seems to be the Mount Ararat. Perhaps the river Vidhṛti of the Garuḍa Purāṇa and Nivṛti of the other Purāṇas is the Euphrates, and the river Vitṛṣṇā the Tigris.⁵ The Semetic Asuras, that is, the Assyrians dwelt in Śālmala-dvīpa. (4) Puṣkara-dvīpa or Transoxania was bounded by the *Ikṣu* (sugar-cane juice) Sea⁶. Ikṣu, however, is one of the names of the river Oxus.⁷ The Matsya Purāṇa⁸ also says that the river Śilā or Jaxartes flowed through the

1 *Varāha P.*, ch. 86. We have preferred to adopt the names of Dvīpas and the Sāgaras surrounding them as given in the Varāha Purāṇa as the Purāṇas are contradictory on these points.

2 Sir Henry Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 59 note.

3 *Varāha P.*, ch. 89.

4 McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 1, 309 note. Nearchos means by it only the Persian Gulf; see p. 222 note; also Maspero's *Down of Civilization*, p. 546.

5 *Garuḍa P.*, Pūrva kh., ch. 56, v. 7. Bitṛṣṇā appears to mean "what assuages thirst" that is fit for drinking, see *Strabo*, bk. xi, ch. xiv, 8.

6 *Varāha P.*, ch. 89.

7 *Viṣṇu P.*, pt. ii, ch. 4.

8 *Matsya P.*, ch. 110. The text appears to be corrupt: some editions have Pulikan for Pushkaran, comp. *Alberuni's India* (Dr. Sachau's ed.), vol. I, p. 261.

country of Puṣkara. Puṣkara-dvīpa is the Sanskritised form of Bukhar-ia, which means the "country of the Buddhist monastery" or Bokhara, where *ia* stands for *dia*, Puṣkara being a corruption or variant of Bhuṣkara or Bokhara.¹ Puṣkara-dvīpa therefore commenced from the north of the Oxus which was the northern boundary of Śāka-dvīpa. The Turanian Asuras originally lived in Osrushna in Puṣkara-dvīpa.

(To be continued)

NUNDOLAL DEY

The Gītā Literature and its relation with Brahma Vidyā

Introduction

Though the Bhagavad-Gītā is by far the most renowned Gītā, still it is only one out of a class. There is an extensive Gītā literature ; and the extent of this literature is indicated by the fact that in the Mahābhārata alone, besides the Bhagavad-Gītā, there are more than a dozen other Gītās. Thus :—

1. Utathya Gītā xii. 90-91.	8. Hārīta Gītā „ 277
2. Vāmadeva Gītā xii. 92-94.	9. Vṛtra Gītā „ 278
3. Rṣabha Gītā „ 125-128.	10. Parāśara Gītā „ 290-298
4. Śampāka Gītā „ 176	11. Haṃsa Gītā „ 299
5. Maṅki Gītā „ 177	12. Anu-Gītā xiv. 16-19
6. Bodhya Gītā „ 178	13. Brāhmaṇa Gītā „ 20-34
7. Vicakṣnu Gītā „ 264	

Besides these, we have yet another list of Gītās embedded in other books of more or less the same class as the Mahābhārata. For instance :—

1. Īśvara Gītā ; Kūrma-purāṇa, ii. 1-11.	10. Avadhūta Gītā, No. 2 : Śrīmad-bhāgavata, xi, 7-9.
2. Vyāsa Gītā ; „ „ ii. 12-30.	11. Sūryya Gītā.
3. Rāma Gītā ; (unlocated).	12. Yama Gītā ; Viṣṇu-purāṇa, iii, 7.
4. Gaṇeśa Gītā ; Gaṇeśa-purāṇa, ii. 138-148.	13. Yama Gītā No. 2 ; Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa, viii.
5. Śīva Gītā ; (said to belong to the Padma-purāṇa, but I have not been able to find it there.)	14. Yama Gītā No. 3 ; Agni-purāṇa, ch. 382.
6. Devī Gītā ; Devī-bhāgavata, vii. 32-40.	15. Haṃsa Gītā ; Bhāgavata, xi. 13.
7. Kapila Gītā ; Śrīmad-bhāgavata, iii. 25-33.	16. Pāṇḍava Gītā ; (unlocated).
8. Aṣṭāvakra Gītā ; (unlocated).	17. Brahma Gītā ; said to belong to the Skanda Purāṇa, but unlocated there).
9. Avadhūta Gītā ; (said to have been written by Dattātreya, but unlocated elsewhere.)	18. Brahma Gītā No. 2 ; Yoga-vāśiṣṭha, vi. 2. 172-182.

Yoga-vāsiṣṭha v. 8 is a brief chapter called 'Siddha Gītā.' And Varāha-purāṇa has as many as three Gītās, viz. Pitr Gītā, (ch. 13), Agastya Gītā (ch. 50-53), and Rudra Gītā (ch. 70-71). A more laborious search might reveal more Gītās in other places.

The treatises in which the Gītās, at any rate, the great majority of them are found, deserve notice. It will be seen that as they have come down to us, they form part of some Purāṇa or other ; and for this purpose, the Mahābhārata also is a Purāṇa. Now, this is a significant fact ; and it throws an interesting sidelight on the interpolation theory about the Bhagavad-Gītā. Surely, it will be too much to suppose that all the Gītās have been interpolated in the books in which they are respectively found ; and it is not safe either to single out the Bhagavad-Gītā from the class to which it belongs, and consider it an interpolation in the Mahābhārata. It would be more natural to think that the Gītās have formed parts of the Purāṇas to which they respectively belong. In other words, they belong to the same period of history and the same stage of the intellectual life of the country, to which the Purāṇas belong and reflect the same mental and spiritual outlook.

The question now arises : Why are they called *Gītās* ? The etymological meaning of the name is 'that which is sung or chanted.' Were the Gītās really sung ? Or, has the name any other implication ? It is a class name and cannot be altogether devoid of any general meaning.

It is of use in this connection to remember that a portion of the Vedic literature was also sung or chanted and was gradually separated from the main block and treated as a distinct book under a separate name. This gives us an illustration of the fact that, of a sacred literature, a certain portion may be so composed that it cannot only be read and recited but can even be chanted. And it is not only capable of being chanted, but is actually done so on specific occasions.

Add to this the practice of reading the Purāṇas as it has come down to our own day. The Purāṇas themselves declare that they were given out by some great Ṛṣi on the occasion of some vast sacrificial performance, mostly in the sacred place called Naimiṣāranya, but much later than the time to which they profess to belong ; they are only imaginary dialogues between persons known to fame and sanctified by later generations. So, the actual mode in which they were delivered is not really a matter of moment. But up to the present day, the practice has continued of reading some

one or other of them—mainly the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata—on some sacred occasion. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that they have been so read from the very beginning of their existence and that they were intended to be so. Now, at the time of such reading, the practice is to recite or chant some specific portion of the texts. The reader, or Pāṭhaka, as he is generally called in Bengal, would sometimes even compose a song of his own for the occasion and sing it, by way of adding to the attractiveness of the function.

This practice of introducing a song or chanting a portion of the original texts is not confined to the reading of sacred texts in Sanskrit only. In Bengali, too, there is a considerable sacred literature—variously called 'Pāñcālī', e. g. that belonging to the goddess Manasā, or, 'Maṅgala,' e. g. that called Annadā-Maṅgala, or, again, 'Caṇḍī,' e. g. the Caṇḍī of Kavikaṅkaṇa. Now, in reading books of this kind, too, especially on ceremonial occasions, portions are very often chanted.

Can the Gītās have served the same purpose with regard to the Purāṇas? It is difficult to say that they did not. In fact, the Bagavad-Gītā is still read on sacred occasions in a sing-song manner. More than this perhaps is not meant by the name Gītā. The books are not composed as regular songs, and they do not appear to have been ever sung in the strictest sense of the term. Sometimes they even suggest that they should only be read, and nothing more; and though the use of the verb 'to sing' (root *gai*), is also found, still the books use the verb 'to read' (root, '*paṭha*'), e. g., Bhagavad-Gītā, xviii. 70; Rāma Gītā, 62; Gaṇeśa Gītā, xi. 50; &c. In all these cases, it is said that the book is to be *read*; whether the reading was to be in a sing-song manner or not is more than one is warranted to infer from the verbs used.

At the same time, we cannot overlook the fact that in some cases, the verb 'to sing' (*gai*) is very definitely used; and seems to imply more than an ordinary and prosaic reading. Thus:

Brahma-Gītā of Skanda-Purāṇa, iii. 108—'artham-imam nityam
gāyan-āste' &c.,

Do.

Do.

iii. 117—'Gāyan vicaret' &c.

Mahābhārata, xii. 175, 'Śampākeneha muktena *gītām* &c.'

It seems then that the Gītās were those portions of the Purāṇas to which a more than ordinary reading was to be given; they were either to be actually sung, if possible, or read with intonations in such a way that it verged on a song. It seems almost clear that these books

were regarded as compendia of religious precepts—a sort of constant companion—; and it was intended that they should be read as frequently as possible and even memorised, and, on suitable occasions, recited in assemblies and also to oneself. Some of the Gītās have been actually used as such, e. g., the Bhagavad-Gītā ; if all of them have not been equally favoured, it does not follow that they were not intended to be so used.

There is another point to be considered in connection with the names. It will be seen that the books are not called simply Gītās ; the word 'gītā' is a general suffix added to some proper name in order to derive the name of any of the books. Thus : *Bhagavad-Gītā* ; *Rāma Gītā* ; *Gaṇeśa-Gītā* ; *Śiva-Gītā* &c. Now, what does the proper name indicate ?

The key to the answer to this question is to be found in the fact that, in the Bhagavad-Gītā, the principal speaker is Bhagavān or Kṛṣṇa, who is communicating the teachings of the book to his disciple. In this sense, the book is *sung* by the Lord (gita) ; and so it is called the 'Song of the Lord'. Similarly, the other *gītās*, too, profess to have been *sung* or delivered as a message by the deity whose name forms the first part of the name of the book. Thus, *Rāma-Gītā* was communicated to an enquirer by Rāma ; *Śiva-Gītā*, by Śiva ; *Devī-Gītā*, by the goddess specially so called, and so on. This is the general rule, the one or two exceptions that are there only confirm it. Among the exceptions, the Pāṇḍava Gītā deserves mention ; it professes to have been sung by the Pāṇḍavas among others, but they do not sing their own worship but the worship of Kṛṣṇa. Leaving out the exceptions, the proper names in the names of the Gītās indicate the deity whose praise is sung in the book.

Now, this is a very important fact. That the Gītā in each case professes to have come out of the mouth of some deity clearly shows that the worship of that deity was being preached. Let us take the Bhagavad-Gītā : In xviii. 64-66, the Lord says :

"Listen again to my last word, the most secret of all ; you are certainly dear to me and so I tell you what your good is. Think of me, love me, worship me and bow down to me ; and you will surely find me—I promise you, to be sure, and you are my dear one. Leaving aside all (other) religions, you come over to me ; I will save you from all sins."

Literally speaking, the Lord may be understood as preaching a sectarian worship. Was it Bhāgavata or Vāsudeva worship that was

sought to be taught through the medium of this discourse? The Vaiṣṇavas have undoubtedly taken this book as teaching their own cult. But unfortunately for them, the sublimity of thought expressed in the book has lent itself to other interpretation and it has also been understood as teaching the most uncompromising monism like that of Śaṅkara.

But the same cannot be said of the majority of the other *gītās*. They are mostly sectarian and some of them are aggressively so. They preach the worship of some particular god or goddess. For example, Devī-Gītā, viii gives the details of the worship of that goddess; and in ix. 10, the significant statement is made that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara and Sadāśiva lie at the feet of the goddess. The meaning is obvious: these other gods do not deserve an independent worship. But this supremacy of one particular deity is taught in a very subtle manner, and this brings out the close and clear relation of the whole of the Gītā literature with the Brahma-vidyā of the Upaniṣads.

The many deities of the Vedas are all subsumed under the one all-pervading conception of Brahma in the Upaniṣads. The Gītā-literature indicates that this unity of the god-head in Brahma was, at that time, firmly established. But the gods were not altogether dead and gone.¹ They were still very much alive and were topping the hierarchy of created beings; only, they occupied a position inferior to that of Brahma himself. Hence, to speak of a deity as only *one* of the many deities implied an inferior prestige for that being; such a deity was not the supreme God and might, therefore, be ignored with impunity. The authors of the *gītās* knew it well enough. So whichever deity any one of these authors may have chosen as his own, his first care was to prove and to proclaim that the Absolute, the Ultimate and the Supreme Brahma was no other than the deity of his choice. His god or goddess was really the Brahma. Thus the Gaṇeśa-Gītā tries to identify Brahma with Gaṇeśa, the Śiva-Gītā with Śiva, the Devī-Gītā with Devī, and so on.

This is not all. It will be remembered that there are certain stages through which the Upaniṣads themselves arrive at the unity of Brahma. It is interesting to note that the Gītās, too, follow the same process: (1) In the first place, all the Vedic gods are, in the

1 Vide my paper on "The Vedic gods in the Upaniṣads", Indian Philosophical Quarterly, October, 1925.

Upaniṣads, absorbed in Brahma. This the Gītās also do by allowing the manifold deities to be swallowed up, as it were, by the deity which they respectively advocate. (2). In the second place, in the Upaniṣads, the entire universe is deduced from Brahma—He is the source and origin of all, the entire world is in Him. In the Gītās also the same attempt is made. In the Upaniṣads, however, this is done mainly by speculative methods; an ocular demonstration is not thought necessary, nor is it attempted. But the Gītās were presumably intended for a different class of men and an appeal to sense-perception was deemed necessary. So, in the Gītās, the gods in question, like the prophets and messiahs of the Semitic peoples, stoop to perform miracles and give an ocular demonstration of their all-embracing divinity. This is illustrated in chaps. x-xi of the Bhagavad-Gītā. But these tactics are not a monopoly of the Bhagavad-Gītā alone; the more important of the other Gītās follow the same. For instance, the Gaṇeśa-Gītā has a chapter corresponding to ch. xi of the Bhagavad-Gītā and gives it the same name, viz., 'Viśva-rūpa-darśana.' The Śiva-Gītā also has chapters corresponding to and bearing the same names as chaps. x and xi of the Bhagavad-Gītā.

Now, this similarity among the Gītās does not appear to be accidental. On the contrary, this and other evidences clearly show that, in following the foot-step of the Upaniṣads and even in slightly deviating from it, the Bhagavad-Gītā was largely imitated and taken as the type by the authors of the other Gītās belonging to other sects. But of this more later on.

(3) In the third place, the Upaniṣads not only proclaim the great truth that Brahma is all, but also suggest certain *yoga* practices—certain physical and spiritual discipline—as means for the attainment of Brahma (e. g. Śvetāśvatara Up. ii. 9-12). The Bhagavad-Gītā does the same; nay, it goes further and even advises a regulation of diet for this purpose (ch. xvii). In the case of the sectarian Gītās, the practice advised consists mainly in the worship of the deity in question, to be performed according to prescribed rules. Thus the Gaṇeśa-Gītā, xi. 49-50, says; 'One should make an earthen image of Gaṇeśa, with his vehicle and arms, and worship it on the fourth day after the new moon, in the month of Bhādra', &c. Again, the Devī-Gītā, v-ix, gives details of the worship of Devī and also a list of sacred places which should be visited as being dedicated to her. Similarly, Śiva-Gītā, (xvi, 27 *et seq.*), gives details of the worship of Śiva. And so on.

Thus we see how the sectarian deities, by means of their respective

Gītās, were tending to usurp the honour and prestige belonging to Brahma—the One without a second—of the Upaniṣads.

After this preliminary survey, we are now in a position to consider in detail the following questions :

- (i) The Classification of the Gītās ;
- (ii) The position of the Bhagavad-Gītā in the Gītā-literature ; and
- (iii) The relation between the Gītās and the Upaniṣads.

(i) *Classification of the Gītās*

We have suggested before that a large number of the Gītās are sectarian in character. They have their special gods and goddesses to plead for, and they do so under the garb of discussing the highest truths of Brahma-vidyā, and by quietly identifying the deity of their selection with Brahma. But the question is : are all the Gītās sectarian ? That is, do all of them stand up for some god or goddess other than Brahma ?

The answer is in the negative. The Gītās of the Mahābhārata are all more or less of the same type ; and, though the Bhagavad-Gītā may well be classed as sectarian, belonging to the cult of Bhāgavata-worship, yet the other Gītās partake very little of the sectarian character. They certainly inculcate the fundamental teachings of the Bhagavad-Gītā and also of the Upaniṣads ; but they have no special deity like Rāma or Gaṇeśa or Śiva whose worship they care to promulgate. They agree with the Bhagavad-Gītā and the Upaniṣads in so far as they, too, attempt to teach the realisation of the highest truth and goodness—the attainment of Mokṣa or salvation. But apart from this, they are too short to have any other resemblance with the Upaniṣadic literature or with the Bhagavad-Gītā. Most of them are but attempts at answering some special and brief questions. Instead of giving a direct answer to the question raised, the authority of a name and an anecdote is invoked to give point to it. Thus the Utathya-Gītā (Mbh. xii. 90-91) is an account of the virtues of a Kṣatriya as given by one Utathya. Here the proper name Utathya is not the name of a special deity who proclaims his own worship, as in the case of the Śiva-Gītā or Gaṇeśa-Gītā, but it is the name of a person who is reputed to have been the teacher of the doctrines contained in the book.

In the same way, the Vāmadeva-Gītā (Mbh. xii. 92-94), is an attempted solution of some problem and Vāmadeva is the teacher to whom this attempt is attributed. The same is true of Rṣabha-Gītā,

Śampāka-Gītā and all the rest in our list, with the exception of Haṃsa-Gītā, Anu-Gītā and Brāhmaṇa-Gītā ; in the case of these latter, the name of the book does not contain any proper name. Haṃsa is the name of a bird, under the guise of which, Prajāpati gave out the truths contained in the book, hence the name. Anu-Gītā professes to come after and thus to supplement the original Gītā i. e. the Bhagavad-Gītā. 'Anu' is the ordinary grammatical prefix, meaning 'after,' or 'after the manner of' or 'in accordance with'. The Brāhmaṇa-Gītā is ostensibly given out by a Brāhmaṇa ; but towards the end of the book, it is revealed that the Brāhmaṇa is the mind of Kṛṣṇa ('Mano me brāhmaṇam viddhi &c.').

It will thus appear that the great body of the Gītās in the Mahābhārata, are not interested in the spread of the worship of any particular god or goddess ; they refer to teachers but not to specific deities and they are mainly concerned with abstract speculation which they popularise by means of stories. Broadly speaking, they are non-sectarian. And since this is so, the entire Gītā-literature cannot be branded as sectarian. But there are sectarian Gītās, too ; and in number and importance, they do not fall behind the others. There are thus two main divisions of Gītās.

Before, however, we emphasise the differences, we should, even at the risk of repetition, point out that there are certain general characteristics in which the Gītās agree, whether sectarian or non-sectarian. Some of these characteristics have been already indicated in a general way, while the meaning of the term 'Gītā,' was being discussed. Apart from the common name given to them all, there are other important and interesting points of similarity also.

(a) *Structure* :—So far as literary style and structure are concerned, they are all in the form of dialogues. The dialogue is the one general form of the entire Purāṇic literature, in which the Gītās are embedded. We may note in this connection, that the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Tantras are all written in the form of question and answer. The Rāmāyaṇa is perhaps a singular exception ; the other exceptions are of course the earlier and more classical sacred literature of the country, viz., the Vedic and Upaniṣadic literature. Dialogues certainly occur even in them ; but the entire book is not in the form of a dialogue. The later law-books, i. e., the Smṛhitās, are also in the form of dialogues, without, however, the dramatic element that might be looked for in them. Some one is questioned as to what should be done by different men in different circumstances and the entire system

of laws follows as an answer to that question. And the Purāṇas similarly are accounts given of diverse things by some one to whom a series of questions are put, one after another. And the Gītās, too, appear as parts of these long conversations, and partaking of the general character of the larger wholes, they too, are dialogues. And as we have indicated before, the principal person in the dialogues lends his name to the book. This is a common feature of the Gītās. It is no doubt a superficial resemblance ; but deeper points of similarity also exist.

(b) *Function* : Perhaps the Gītās were all conceived as instruments for a special kind of function. Whether it was the worship of a sectarian deity or a high principle of Brahma-vidyā, that it was singing ; the Gītā served as a sort of compendium—a sort of ready reference, a select portion of sacred texts, which might be, and, perhaps actually was, recited on solemn occasions ; and was intended as a sort of spiritual guide-book.

Very often, the Gītās attempt an eclectic synthesis of conflicting doctrines and thus seek to place their own teachings on a firmer basis. That the Bhagavad-Gītā tries to synthesise the opposing schools of Karma, Jñāna and Bhakti is well-known. A similar attempt has been made by some of the other Gītās, too. Thus, the Devī-Gītā, ch. i, refers to diverse theories about the primal cause of the world. Some call it Tapas ; some call it Tamas ; some call it unconscious ; some, conscious ; some call it Prakṛti and some by other names, but, we are reminded, after all, it is one and the same, and might as well be understood in the way in which our author defines it. The conflicts of sects are attempted to be overcome by what is unostentatiously put forward as a loftier conception, but is at bottom no less sectarian.

The Gītās thus attempt to establish a cult which, it seems to have been fondly hoped by each of them, might become universal. Their prime concern, they profess, was to teach Mokṣa or salvation ; the sect-deity is quietly introduced as means to that end. If the means ultimately swallow up the end, it is because each of our authors honestly believes that the means suggested by him are the only means. But though there are sharp differences of opinion as to the means to be employed, there is none as to the end. The Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa ii. 137, while giving an account of the genesis of the Gaṇeśa-Gītā, strikes the key-note of all the Gītās ; the enquiry there is : “Yenopadeśena muktim yāsyami tat vadasva me”—tell me the way by which I may attain salvation. If in answer to this question, the means suggested be the worship of Gaṇeśa, that is because the author

sincerely believed that no other means was equally efficacious. The different Gītās think and speak in different veins, but they have a common function to discharge—they profess a common aim—viz., to lead men to the path of Mokṣa.

(c) *Contents* : The most important and the most striking point of similarity among the Gītās, however, is to be found in their thought-content as well as verbal-content ; all of them, directly or indirectly, borrow from the Upaniṣads. The exact relation of these books with the Upaniṣads we discuss separately.

We have seen now the common features of the Gītās as a class. It is time to remember again that they fall into two broad sub-divisions.

Leaving aside the Bhagavad-Gītā, the minor Gītās of the Mahābhārata form a class by themselves. They have no sectarian deity to uphold, nor any special worship to promulgate. They hang their teachings on some general principle of moral or spiritual life and cite the authority of some name, perhaps to give it a human touch or perhaps to command confidence. It is interesting to note that the great majority of these Gītās occur in the Śānti-parva of the Mahābhārata and quite a number of them again are found within that subdivision of the Parva which is called 'Mokṣa-dharma-parva'. This is a fairly clear indication of their general character ; and their teachings do not belie the name.

The Gītās of the Purāṇas, however, are different from these in so far as a majority of them are pledged to support some special god or goddess. There are some among them, no doubt, which might well be classed with the Gītās of the Mahābhārata as scarcely sectarian : e.g. Brahma-Gītā of the Yoga-vāsiṣṭha, Yama-Gītā of the Agni-purāṇa, &c. These latter elaborate some principle of Brahma-vidyā and do little else besides. But the other Purāṇic Gītās are frankly sectarian.

Thus there are two kinds of Gītās : (1) the sectarian Gītās, associated with the god of some sect and propounding his worship; and (2) the non-sectarian Gītās, Gītās of the Brahma-vidyā school, which branch off, as it were, from the main trunk of the Upaniṣads, and evolve a religion out of it which might appeal to the ordinary run of men.

In their general characteristics, the Gītās appear to have been mainly built upon the model of the Bhagavad-Gītā. We shall next proceed to examine the position of this remarkable book in the literature of its class.

(To be continued)

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

Śukra's Economics in Hindu Science

II

(b) *The Realism of the Saccakas*

To use another modern term, it is not in the "idealistic" strands of thought that the Śukra authors are interested. The philosophies of Berkeley and Hume which seek to eliminate the external world and posit the exclusive existence of the mind, converting the universe into nothing but a system of mental states, would have left no impress upon the brains of the writers of *Śūtranīti*. And of course, they would have had nothing to do with the Hegelian "absolute" soul as the only real entity, should it have been adumbrated in their *goṣṭhī* (club) or *pariṣat* (academy) by certain professors of "the other sciences."

On the contrary, should it have been necessary for them to declare their philosophical or metaphysical article of faith they would have sought their natural allies among one or other systems of "realism." The distinction between idealism and realism is an eternal item in human thought. The philosophical *milieu* of the Śukra authors was fully aware of it. And it was up to them to choose which system to follow.

It is not necessary to read literally the ideas of "modern" idealism (Hegelian and Anglo-Hegelian) or "neo-idealism" (Crocean) and the realism and pragmatism of American professors or the neo-realism of Bertrand Russel's *Analysis of Mind* in the metaphysical controversies of ancient and mediæval India. But that the world was a pluralistic one and that the scholars as well as laymen had to decide for themselves, consciously or unconsciously, between one or other *ism*, is evident on all hands.

In what academies or *Kutūhalaśālās* (halls for curio-seekers, knowledge-hunters or truth-investigators) the Śukra economists sought affiliations in order to equip themselves with an adequate *Weltanschauung* (world-view) it is not difficult to discover. One interesting story, coming as it does from Buddhist tradition, may serve as a specimen for the point in question.

Śākya the Buddha is said to have been abroad lecturing on the impermanence and unsubstantiality of body, sensation, perception and so forth. This sort of idealistic annihilation of the world of external objects was not to go unchallenged from the side of those who believed

that body, sensation, etc. were not items to be trifled with. Śākya, therefore, had to encounter opposition of various shades from the "stormers and stressers" of his times.

The *Culasaccaka Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* narrates how one of the great high-brows of the day, Saccaka Nigaṇṭha-putta, invited Śākya to an open debate.¹ Saccaka's thesis was quite a chip of naturalism. He propounded the supreme value of the Mother Earth in the world of nature as well as in the world of man.

"Whatsoever seeds and plants grow and expand and come to maturity," thus argued Saccaka, "do so all in dependence upon the earth, and, firm-based upon the earth, and thus come to maturity." It is this solid earth of mud and stones that furnishes equally the basis of all human endeavours. Saccaka went on in his argument vehemently emphasising the point that "whatever deeds that require strength are all done in dependence upon the earth, and firm-based upon the earth," and that these deeds cannot be done in any other way.

The analogy of the earth was then exploited by Saccaka in order to substantiate his thesis of the dignity of body, the dignity of sensation, etc. What the earth is to plants and human beings, said he, that the body is to the individual. "By body is this individual man, and firm-based upon body does he bring forth deeds good or evil." The argument is carried forward in regard to sensation, perception, etc.

Saccaka is evidently an uncompromising champion of the doctrine of the physical basis of life. And, yet, one will have to admit that this exaltation of the body, sensation etc., this glorification, in one word, of materialism, does not rise to the pitch such as is embodied in the dogma of "economic determinism" or "materialistic interpretation of history," strictly so called, with which Marxianism is identified. For, Saccaka's world-view, materialistic as it is, does not assert that life, mind, culture, or law, religion, philosophy, science and fine arts are but the *reflexes* of the physical foundations.² The *causal*

1 Bhikkhu Silacara's *First Fifty Discourses*, vol. II, pp. 84-88 in Nalinaksha Dutt's *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism* (London, 1925). See also *Mahāli-sutta*, and *Brahmajāla-sutta*, etc. in Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of Buddha* for some of the other *vitandās* (discussions) bearing on realism.

2 Othmar Spann's *Der Wahre Staat* (Vienna, 1921), pp. 131-133. The author is a vehement opponent of *Marxismus* and laments that

relation is wanting in Saccaka's philosophy, but it is this causal concatenation that furnishes the keynote to "modern" materialism.

The controversy between Śākya and Saccaka is but typical of the philosophical conflicts (*vitandās*) in old Hindu thought. And Śukra's materialism, as manifest in the analysis of the territory and finance, two of the seven limbs of the state, is ideologically in tune with the ideas of Saccaka. To the authors of the *Śukranīti*, the external world is not to be explained away as but a unit of mental states. The physical objects are, in their estimation, solid pragmatic realities.

The story of Śākya *vs.* Saccaka has incidentally brought out another feature of intellectual polarity which will help to throw fresh light on the materialism of the Śukra philosophers. The dialectic of the one is the exact opposite of that of the other. And we are reminded at once of one of Marx's statements in the *Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*. "With Hegel," says he, "the mind or the absolute (the world-reason) is the creator of the real. With me is the process quite otherwise. I consider the ideal to be nothing else but the material established in the human brain."

The logic of modern materialism is thus a direct antithesis to Hegelianism, *i. e.*, idealism *par excellence*. It is only reasonable to find that in its philosophical affiliations the materialism of *Śukranīti* was oriented to a mentality or mentalities the furthest removed from the Śākyan.

(c) *The Sāṅkhya Basis of Secular Studies*

Saccaka, as contemporary of Śākya the Buddha, is certainly too "old" for the *Sukranīti* in the form in which we have it to-day. But the anti-Hegelian spirit, to employ a modern term with a retrospective effect, such as Saccaka's story reveals, has always been a living force in the Indian philosophical world. And the Śukra authors, no matter to how many successive ages the cycle may belong,

the leading German economists of the nineteenth century and since have failed to wage war against the doctrines of Marx and have, on the contrary, virtually accepted the Marxist position in economics and social philosophy (pp. 136-137). Spann's sociological contributions, brilliant as they are, lie, however, outside of this anti-Marxian polemic. Notice how he explains society from the standpoint of "kinetic" universalism (pp. 33-42). He has, besides, a very acceptable scheme of *Staendestaat* (gild-state or *Śrenī*-state), pp. 227-237.

have always had the opportunities to fraternize with the Saccakas of their days and exploit their findings in the interest of their own investigations.

Take, for instance, the six philosophies of the "older tradition." These in their developed form are certainly younger than the thoughts recorded in the *Dialogues of the Buddha*. Now, if the very environment in which Śākya the Buddha preached could not fail to furnish a philosophical stimulus to the economic realism of the Śukra authors, they would have found an equally congenial atmosphere in the *viṭaṇḍā* or discussions of the *darśana*-academies.

At first sight it might appear, indeed, that these 'six systems' on account of their pre-occupation with "salvation" would repel the Śukra economists. But this can, at least, be only a superficial view. For, at least three of them, namely, the *Sāṅkhya*, the *Vaiśeṣika*, and the *Nyāya* deal more with the facts and phenomena of physics or natural philosophy rather than with the mental and moral philosophy proper. Thus they happen to furnish just the scientific foundations of materialism such as an economic system demands for its theoretical groundwork.¹

No system of thought could be more serviceable to an economist than the *Sāṅkhya*, for instance, which constitutes the very antithesis of Vedantic mysticism. By establishing a rigid dualism it effectively segregates the spiritual from the material. And its "material" alone is powerful enough to be the cause of everything that happens in the non-spiritual world.

The matter of *Sāṅkhya* is not only real. It is eternal and indestructible at the same time. And the material world, self-evolving as it is, does not need the postulate of a God or a divine machinery.²

The very possibilities of a secular science, material or moral, are then to be sought in the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy, harnessed as it is, with its purely naturalistic rationalism. Nor is this realistic agnosticism the exclusive characteristic of the *Sāṅkhyas*. However much the

1 The physico-chemical and mechanical theories of the "philosophical schools" have been analyzed at length in Brajendra Nath Seal's *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* (London, 1915).

2 Garbe's *Sāṅkhya Philosophie, eine Darstellung des indischen Rationalismus* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 130, 137, 207, 232, 237, 238, Cf. A. M. Pizzagalli's *Cārvāka Nāstika e Lokāyatika* (Pisa, 1907) pp. 74-77.

professors of the *Vaiśeṣika-Nyāya* systems might differ from the Sāṅkhyans in the theories concerning the constitution of matter, the method of approach to the problems of the universe was identical. Even *buddhi* (intelligence ?) is grouped by the *Nyāya* philosophers in the same category as earth, water, air and other material substances.

As long as the *Sāṅkhya*, the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* were there, the Hindu students of mental, moral and social phenomena never had to feel that their feet were off the ground. The idealism of *Vedānta*, such as in its extreme form might interfere with an objective investigation of the pluralities of the universe on the alleged ground that the many do not exist or that the only reality is the *Brahman*, mind, soul or whatever else it may mean, could be always challenged or rectified with the weapons forged in the other schools.

(d) *Orientations to Nāstika-matam*

The Śukra materialists, then, were not alone in the field. They had but to draw upon the experience of other intellectuals who were oriented to the world in their own way. Their colleagues in different branches of materialism were many, and *Nītiśāstra* could flow on smoothly along the well-established currents of thought.

It seems that during the more recent phases of its development the *Sukranīti* cycle was being enriched with the findings of a new school of philosophical materialists. The school has been described by the Śukra authors as *Nāstika-matam* or system of the *Nāstika* (IV, iii, 108-109). In their estimation the *Nāstikas* are important enough to be described as representing one of the thirty-two branches of learning.

Now, whom do the Śukra authors call *Nāstika*? Three characteristics are described by them as marking this system. First, we are told that "reason" is the chief feature in the *Nāstika theory*. In the second place, the *Nāstikas* are said to explain the origin of all things by reference to "nature." And thirdly, they do not believe in the existence of the Vedas. They are thus sceptics, but not necessarily atheists.

Whatever be the characteristics of *Nāstika* philosophy, it is evident that the Śukra authors consider it to be quite a "respectable" system of thought. They enumerate it in the same dispassionate, colourless, scientific manner as they enumerate the *Vedas*, *Upavedas*, *Darśanas*, etc. And here, *en passant*, we touch another aspect of the chronological problems.

The word *Nāstika* has been traced by Pizzagalli in his brochure

Cārvāka Nāstika e Lokāyatika as far back as the *Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad* (3, 5), one of the latest Upaniṣads. It occurs several times in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 181, 1-6; XII, 322-16, XII, 121-38). Manu also knows the term (II, 10-11; III, 150; IV, 163; XI, 66-67).

But in none of these instances does the word describe the representative of a "system" of thought. It conveys simply the derogatory sense of a general character. By using *Nāstika*, the writers want us to understand a negator, one not abiding by the Vedas and Smṛtis, etc., or, perhaps, very often, an "ill-mannered" "uncultivated" boor, even a vicious sinner and so forth. Down to Manu nobody could think of mentioning a *matam* (body of knowledge, doctrines, or system of thought) as being the handiwork of a school of *Nāstika*, not to speak of listing it in a schedule of the sciences along with the conventional *matas* of historic tradition.¹

The Śukra authors, however, are bold enough to do so. Shall we say that this boldness is but an expression of their "liberalism"? Is it that they are tolerant or catholic enough, being students of materialism, to invite the "reason-worshipping" philosophers into the fold of the established convention? Or shall we say that this boldness points to the lateness or "modernism" of the passage in which the expression occurs? Perhaps we may take it in both ways. The Śukra authors or, at any rate, those of their cycle, responsible for the incorporation of the list of the thirty-two *vidyās*, are at once liberal and modern.

We know as a positive fact that it is in Mādhava's "compendium of all the philosophies" known as the *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha* (1331), that the *nāstika* philosophy is for the first time presented as a *mata*, a system of thought. It is described as *Bṛhaspatimata*, also as *lokāyatika*. The Cārvākas, who are generally known to be professors of *Nāstika* doctrines have derived their inspiration, according to the tradition recorded by *Mādhava*, from Bṛhaspati, the *purohita* (priest) of Vedic gods. And this Bṛhaspati, we are assured further, is none other than the traditional father of *nītiśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*.

Mādhava, as the follower of Śaṅkarācārya, is, of course, a Vedantist, *i. e.* the furthest removed from the disciples of Bṛhaspati. But he is objective enough to give the devil his due, and include the system

¹ Pizzagalli, pp. 24, 23, 32. According to this Italian scholar *artha* and *nīti* literature embodies the most genuine expression of Hindu materialism.

of the Cārvākas in his examination of the "sixteen systems" prevailing in his time. Indeed, he accords this system the very place of honour in his book,—although, no doubt, as Pizzagalli points out, for dialectical reasons. Mādhava's mission is to establish the supremacy of Vedānta. And, in order to do this, he has to proceed in a climbing series,—demolishing the systems one by one at each step. Naturally, the least Vedāntic or rather the most anti-Vedāntic system conceivable is the Bṛhaspatian philosophy, the *Nāstika-matam*. So Mādhava's book has to commence with his very antithesis, namely, Bṛhaspati.

The Śukra authors, however, have no special axe to grind, so far as this *matam* is concerned. They can afford to be genuinely objective and mention it as a fact of the philosophical universe. It is then very probable, chronologically speaking, that *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* is responsible for the place of *Nāstika* theory in the Śukran list or that both belong to the same intellectual complex.

Śukra's description of the *Nāstikas* agrees in "general features" with that given by Mādhava. The Cārvākas, says this Vedāntist author, are used to denying *pāralaukikam artham* (other-worldly interests). According to them, everything exists through its own *svabhāva* (nature). Their logic recognises no *anumāna* (inference), but is based solely on *pratyakṣa* (observation or perception). They believe that the soul is identical with the body. The pursuit of pleasure is the sole teaching of their ethics. And so on.¹

The definition of *Nāstika-matam* in *Sūtranīti* is not, as a matter of course, as elaborate as in *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*. But it is precise enough to lead one to believe that this compendium of the sixteen systems was not unknown to the Śukra authors. To this extent, perhaps, an aspect of the chronological question may be taken to be solved.

But, for the present, we are interested in the philosophical orientations of the Śukra economists. The account rendered of the Cārvākas by Mādhava possesses, as one can notice, certain characteristics which would appeal very powerfully to the mentality of the Śukra philosophers. Whether the Śukra authors be prepared to deny the existence

1 Cowell's *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* (London, 1894); Muir's article on Indian materialists in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1862); Hopkins' *Great Epic of India* (New York); Pizzagalli, pp. 52-53, 56.

of the Vedas or not, there is no doubt that "rationalism" and *svabhāva* theory (naturalism) of the Cārvākas would fit in quite well with their general trend of thought. The logical and psychological affiliations of *Śukranīti* with *Nāstika-matam* may be considered to have been intimate.

Then there is an historical affinity as well. Mādhava says, as we have seen above, that the founder of *Nāstika-matam* is identical with the founder of *nītiśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*. That common founder is, indeed known to be Bṛhaspati, who, as priest of the gods, is bound to be the sworn enemy of Śukra, the preceptor of the *asuras* (demons). It is not quite clear, therefore, how the name of Bṛhaspati would have sounded in the ears of the professors of the Śukra cycle. But, perhaps, by the fourteenth century the old feuds between the Vedic gods and demons, Bṛhaspati and Śukra, had retired into the limbo of oblivion. And the Śukra investigators of *artha* and *nīti* would have found no difficulty in accosting as comrades and holding *tête-à-têtes* with their colleagues of the Bṛhaspati cycle in one and the same *goṣṭhī* or *pariṣat*.

It is not necessary to identify the Śukra professors of economics, politics and allied sciences with the Saccakas of the Buddhist tradition, or with the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika-Sāṃkhya-yānas*, or, finally, with the *Nāstika-Cārvāka-Lokāyatikas*. Only one point has been sought to be established. It is that the anti-Vedāntic, anti-Hegelian, anti-idealistic trends of thought were varied enough all through the ages to furnish the positive foundations on which a materialistic scheme of *loka-hita* (utilitarianism) can be built up.

(e) *The Problem of "Modernism" in Śukranīti*

[1] The Notions of Italian Indologists

There is another manner in which the materialistic worth of Śukra's economic philosophy may be gauged. It is by trying to appraise it in the light of modern economic categories and theories.

We know what the *Śukranīti* has to say about the arts and crafts in a state. Such ideas can be gleaned from the *Mahābhārata* also, as well as from the other *Nīti* works including the *Arthaśāstra*.

Kāmandaka, for instance, says : "Agriculture, pasture and commerce constitute the foundations of social life" (XIV, 27). The king is advised by him to promote eight kinds of enterprise. These are (1) agriculture, (2) commerce, (3) construction of fortresses, (4) construction of bridges,

(5) elephant hunting, (6) extraction of minerals from mines, and marbles and stones from quarries, (7) timber industry and (8) colonisation of depopulated territories. These economic functions are to be undertaken by the state, as one is to understand, in order that the people may be provided with all sorts of occupations. For, it is said expressly in a preamble, "in order to live in this world it is necessary to work in all those professions which *apportano la sussistenza*, as the Italian translation¹ reads, *i. e.*, bring in subsistence" (V, 78-79). And, of course, the state is not to hinder commerce in any way, for it is a great source of gain by means of which even a poor ruler can carve his path to progress (V, 80).

The importance of *vārtā* (economics) as a science was equally well grasped by the theorists. In Kāmandaka's estimation (IV, 27) *Vārtā vai lokasaṃśrayā*, *i. e.*, economics affords shelter or sustenance to mankind².

The *Mahābhārata*'s idea is identical. We read in the *Vana-parva* (I, 50): *Vārtayā dhāryate sarvaṃ* (everything, the entire world, is upheld by *Vārtā*).

These "general" statements have acquired an adamant precision in the language of Kauṭilya. For, says he, *śayā svapakṣam para-pakṣam ca vaśīkaroti koṣadaṇḍtūbhyām* (book I, ch. IV). That is, economics is instrumental in the establishment of public finance (*koṣa*) and the army (*daṇḍa*), thereby leading to the subjugation of one's own state (*sva-pakṣam*) and the enemy-state (*para-pakṣam*). The science of *Vārtā* plays therefore a great role in domestic and foreign policies.³

1 *I Primi Principi della Politica secondo Kamandaki* (First Principles of Politics according to K.), Italian translation of the *Kāmandakī-nīti* by Carlo Formichi, Rome, 1925.

2 This *Kāmandakī* passage is borrowed of Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* (Calcutta, 1924), pt. II, p. 171. It is not to be found at IV, 27 in Formichi. Jayaswal quotes from the Trivandrum edition (1912) while F.'s translation is based on the *Bibliotheca Indica* text. Other aspects of financial and economic theories have been discussed in my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 183-186.

3 The passages from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Arthasūtra* are to be found in Jayaswal, *loc. cit.*, in another context. My renderings differ verbally from his, although there is no substantial distinction to be noted.

In regard to these, or rather to the *Kāmandaki* passages Formichi has something interesting to say in his *Salus Populi* (Welfare of the People).¹ He quotes Machiavelli's *Prince* (ch. XXI) to indicate how the Italian thinker advised the prince to promote agriculture, commerce and industry. Hobbes's *Leviathan* (II, 30) is likewise cited by him. It is clear that the English philosopher of the seventeenth century repeats in almost identical words the ideas of Kāmandaka and Machiavelli.

It is strange, however, to notice that wherever in the ancient Indian texts Jayaswal finds certain "lessons taught to the ruler," he assumes that these were actually followed. In his estimation there is no distinction between what *should be* and what *is* or *was*. The entire book is full of such confusion at almost every point. And this confusion is due to the author's evading the discussion as to how far the lectures of the *śāstras* (*artha* and *nīti*), *kāvya*s (*Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*), *purāṇa*s and other literary documents possess a positive, historical, and institutional value.

Shamasastri in his *Evolution of Indian Polity* (Calcutta, 1920), commits a like fallacy when he takes phrases like *dhamma-cakka* (kingdom of righteousness) as denoting an established fact of polity during certain periods of Indian history. A critical estimate of Shamasastri's work appears in my *Hindu Politics in Italian* (IHQ., II, pp. 353ff).

This is not the place to discuss Jayaswal's book, bulky and learned as it is. But one serious mistake in his chapter on "economics in government" should be pointed out. He is strong on the point that "Hindu politicians disliked direct taxation" (p. 173). But he devotes nine or ten pages to prove,—and it must be said that he proves it effectively,—that land in Hindu India was as a rule private property, *i. e.*, not *khas mahal* or "public" domain. Now, if land be the property of the citizens, the government's revenue from land becomes automatically a "tax," *i. e.*, not a mere "rent." And a property-tax is nothing but the most characteristic form of "direct" tax. The result then is the exact opposite of Jayaswal's thesis. We are to understand that the "keynote" of Hindu public finance was really struck by direct taxation.

Śukra's ideas on land revenue may be seen in my forthcoming work *Hindu Sociology*, pp. 119, 120. Notice also the actual facts of finance (Tamil and Maurya) described in my *Pol. Inst. and Theor.*, pp. 113, 115, 123-124.

1 (Turin, 1908) p. 134. This is a book of comparative study in the political ideas of Kāmandaka Machiavelli and Hobbes.

And Formichi's conclusion is as follows :—"Such correspondence has in it nothing exceptional or surprising. For, no state, no matter in what epoch or in what part of the world, could subsist without the labour of its citizens, without what may be called the springs of national wealth"¹.

In other words, the economic teachings of Kāmandaka, Machiavelli, and Hobbes do not rise above the minimum, the very elemental pre-conditions in a philosophical conception of the state. This would be quite a sound judgment on the value of the materialistic philosophy as adumbrated by the ancients and the mediævals down to, say, 1700 (Hobbes died in 1679). It need be noted that Machiavelli and Hobbes are not modern enough in time or spirit.

But Formichi goes too far when he finds nothing but the same ideas in the "moderns." According to him the philosophical world of to-day has not gone beyond the level reached by the three great masters mentioned above. This, indeed, is the fundamental message of his *Salus Populi*.

In *Gl' Indiani e la loro scienza politica*², again, Formichi has summarized the ideas of Kāmandaka on the "King's Duties." He points out on one occasion how Kāmandaka teaches that it is only in a well-governed state that the arts and sciences can flourish (II, 8, 9). This statement is followed by the comment that "an economist of our own days could not speak otherwise." We are asked to believe that Kāmandaka's economics is quite up-to-date.

In the same strain writes Bottazzi³ his comparative study of

1 *Salus Populi*, pp. 140-143, also pp. 10-12.

2 (Bologna, 1899). Part I, p. 60. The title of the book reads in English as follows: "The Indians and their Political Science, Part I. The King's Duties."

3 *Precursori di Niccolò Machiavelli in India ed in Grecia Kautilya Tucidide* (Pisa, 1914), pp. 5, 154.

The entire work of the Italian Indologists in the field of Hindu politics has been summarized and reviewed by me in "Hindu Politics in Italian." (Vide *IHQ.*, vols. I & II). The contributions are valuable as militating, unconsciously although, against the absurd Hegelian standpoint in social philosophy which was based on the postulate of an alleged distinction in spirit between the East and the West. But the authors attach too little importance to,—nay, seem almost to be unconscious of or blind to, the epoch making advances in science and philosophy since the industrial revolution.

Kauṭilya and Thucydides as precursors of Machiavelli. The establishment of identity between the East and the West is with him as with Formichi the principal aspect of the fundamental thesis. But identically, and almost as a postulate Bottazzi would, like Formichi, have us believe that the "theories and inventions of modern times were enunciated and practised in India centuries and centuries before the Christian era."

His message has been thus worded :—"These movements and facts repeat themselves with relative constancy in time and space. For, the passions, the immanent interests in human nature vary in intensity, but their substance remains the same."

[2] Vico's Universalism. Examined

It seems that the Italian indologists live and move under the influence of their great sociologist-philosopher Vico.¹ His *Scienza Nuova* (1731) is never indeed mentioned by them. But one knows how the doctrine of "history repeating itself" (*ricorso delle cose umane*) was life-blood to him. He was never tired of talking of the *principio eterno de governi* (eternal principle of government), "constant uniformity" in the laws of nations, *una certa mente comune di tutte i popoli* (a certain common mentality of all the peoples), and the ideal history of eternal laws (*storia ideale delle lege eterne*).

But, to what extent, is the social philosophy of Vico, universalistic

That is why they so easily read "modernism" in everything from Thucydides and Kauṭilya down to Hobbes. In any case, besides, Hobbes is not modern in the strictest sense of the term.

1 Vico's *Pagine Scelte* (Select Pages) edited by Ceva (Florence), pp. 35, 47-49, 52-53, 81-83.

One of the "elements" or *assiomi* (axioms) in his *Scienza Nuova* is thus worded : "No. XIII. Uniform ideas born among nations that do not happen to know one another should possess a common motive of truth (*Idee uniforminate appointieri popoli tra essi loro non conosciuti debbon avere un motivo comune di vero*)."

This axiom pervades the examination of the ideas of Thucydides, Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka, Machiavelli and Hobbes by Formichi and Bottazzi,—although nowhere expressly stated as a contribution from the philosophy of Vico. Perhaps Vico's "discoveries" belong to Italian "tradition," and do not require to be specifically mentioned by modern Italians.

as it is, acceptable? Perhaps neither more nor less than the common proverb that "there is nothing new under the Sun." To this conclusion he seems to have come after painstaking, comprehensive studies extending over years. And his literature or bibliography comprised not only the ancients from Homer down to Plato, Virgil and Tacitus, but all the "moderns" of his days as well, including the physicists Gassendi (1592-1655) and Robert Boyle, Descartes, Bacon and Grotius.

There is a great amount of truth in this formulation of the "eternal history" or the "universal" in mankind, especially when one remembers that the facts and phenomena observed by Vico came down to the early decades of the eighteenth century. The really significant discoveries of the experimental sciences were yet to come. The technical inventions which were to revolutionize the methods of production, transportation and exchange, could not be dreamt of by Vico. All that we call modernism, modern civilization and so forth in material and spiritual life, in philosophical categories as well as institutions of social and political well-being, does not, for all practical purposes, go beyond, say, 1830. That is, there is a full century dividing the beginnings of the modern world from the *Scienza Nuova* (New Science).

For the eighteenth century, especially until the "ideas of 1789" began to introduce novel conceptions in life and thought, Vico's categories and explanations must have appeared to be very adequate, nay, marvellous and almost acceptable *in toto*. But the situation is quite otherwise to-day. The data of world-history, say, from the Chartist agitation down to the Leninist outlook on politics, from the primitive locomotive down to the futurist physics of to-day, which is seriously attacking the problem as to how to harness the immense energy contained within the atom so that a pound or two of coal may be enabled to propel the mammoth boats across the oceans,—can these facts of world development be interpreted in terms of Vico's "eternal history?" The answer must have to be given in the emphatic negative.

Even for mediæval conditions Vico's dialectic should really be considered to be inadequate. So far as the East and the West are concerned,—from the standpoint of objective history an enormous amount of analogies and substantial identities or uniformities could, indeed, be discovered in economic background, social and religious institutions, politics, political ideals and general philosophizings. But, while the "horizontal" uniformity was unquestionable, the diversity in "vertical" strands, in other words, in the phenomena of growth in the same region from epoch to epoch, was no less unquestionably a

settled fact. An historical world-view that would fail to mark the different stages in the evolution of a particular region or race through the ages would be untrue to reality.

[3] The Momentum of Epochs

It is this momentum furnished by the epochs to human society, the cumulative push of the successive ages such as constitutes the ever renovating element in social dynamics, that has been overlooked in Vico's philosophy. And Formichi, Bottazzi or others who would read modernism into the ideas of Śukra or his peers, would but commit the same fallacy of ignoring time's contributions in the making of humanity.

We have seen how far behind the Marxian "monism" in materialistic interpretation Saccaka lies. Śukra's materialism is but akin to Saccaka's. He does not rear his body politic on the *sole* foundations of economic activities. The analysis of his ideas in chapter II has made it sufficiently clear how far the Śukra authors are prepared to go. We are not told anything farther than that *rāṣṭra* (territory) and *koṣa* (finance) are two very vital limbs of the *saptāṅga*.

Passages, again, like that in the *Mahābhārata* to the effect that the entire word is upheld by economics, or that of Kāmandaka to the effect that economics maintains mankind, seem quite "monistic," at any rate emphatic, and are, indeed, to be found almost everywhere throughout Hindu thought. But their impact on philosophy is not to be treated as identical with or similar to that of the ideas in Bagehot's *Physics and Politics* or Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, in which "natural" (geographical and climatological) causes are treated as being almost the exclusive factors in the growth of the human spirit. These are nineteenth century works. Even the eighteenth century conception, such as we find in Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, is not to be found in the materialistic teachings of Śukran economics. A more or less approximate approach to the geographical, climatological, or economic "interpretation" of history in the "causal" sense, was not realized in Hindu thought, nor, indeed, in European thought down to Machiavelli, Hobbes and their contemporaries.

It is perhaps, if we accept the Crocean conception of history as "the perpetual increment of itself upon itself," that we can place the ancients and mediævals in their true perspectives, as well as interpret the real significance or worth of their affiliations with modern thought. In Croce's analysis the 'reality' is not a static absolute as conceived

by Hegel, but is ever new in its continual expression of itself in multiple forms. A "perpetual becoming" underlies this neo-idealist's theory of "progress".

And to the same results comes Bergson although along a different path. Over against Vico's conception of "eternal history" and permanent laws we come across the ideas that the most motionless object changes even while it persists. Bergson's "memory" introduces something of the past into the present. In his own words, "my mental state, as it advances on the road of time, is continually swelling with the *duration* it accumulates."

To what extent this "perpetual becoming," "progress," "memory" "duration" or time-element has entered "modern" thoughts can be well understood if one only looks at the contents of a treatise like Spann's *Der Wahre Staat*, Barker's *Political Thought in England from Spencer to the Present Day*, or Gide and Rist's *Histoire des doctrines économiques contemporaines*. One will then be automatically inclined to draw a sharp line between this world and the philosophical universe represented by Śukra, Machiavelli and the like.

To claim modernism for the economic ideas of Śukra, *Mahābhārata*, Kauṭilya or Kāmandaka, on the strength of the thoughts indicated above, would be as unreasonable as to claim that modern "pragmatism" is but Protagoras's maxim, "man is the measure of all things," writ large. Or perhaps when somebody were to assert that the Bergsonian standpoint in philosophy is "identical" with Heraclitus's announcement that flux or change is the eternal law, one would not make a more serious statement.

[4] Categories vs. Substances of Thought

And yet it must be observed that it is not at all unreasonable to advance such claims, *prima facie* absurd although they are. The reasonableness consists in the fact, that the "categories" of thinking are common between the pragmatists of to-day and the Greek sophists, or between Bergson and Heraclitus. It is, similarly, in the realm of categories that an identity is to be detected between many of the economic and materialistic dissertations of Śukra and those of the moderns. These categories may be likened to the "forms" of Plato with their eternal and independent existence. Or to cite a contemporary philosopher, these are the "concepts," "abstract ideas" or "universals" of Bertrand Russel's *Problems of Philosophy*.

But to be identical in category is not to be identical in substance. In

the preceding chapter we have had occasion to point out, wherever necessary, how Śukra's analysis of the economic foundations of a state, although seeming to be an almost modern investigation of the same problem, fell far short of it. The philosophic mind that *Śukranīti* reveals is in all its essential or substantial particulars the mind of pre-modern materialism.

How deep the difference between that world and the modernism of to-day is, was very accurately described by Adam Müller in his *Elemente der Staatskunst* (1808). Müller indeed saw very little of what we call modern civilization. But already he seems to have tasted enough of it to preach the all-too modern cry of "back to the Middle Ages" in tune with the romanticists of Young Germany. He possessed, however, a critical historic sense, and in spite of his pronounced zeal for mediævalism, had to pass a judgment like the following on the good old days: "*Die element alles politischen Lebens* (the elements of all political life)," said he, "*sind im Mittelalter vorhanden* (are present in the Middle Ages)." But the *Verbindung dieser Elemente* (unification of these elements) was not accomplished because these appeared on the scene "more federatively than organically."

It is more than a century since this judgment was passed on the strength and weakness of the Middle Ages by one of the fathers, so to say, of German political philosophy. He was indeed interested, here, more in politics than in economics, and more in the problem of national unity than in anything else. But the essential distinction that he established between the past and the present in at least one aspect of life is a solid fact. And it has a universal application.

The moral of this distinction on the question of Śukra's affiliations to modern philosophy is unmistakeable. The "elements" of economic thought in *Śukranīti* seem very much to be modern, but they do not constitute a modern complex in any significant sense. Simply because some of the terms and rudimentary ideas are common to the Śukra authors and the moderns, one must not establish an equation between the two sets.

Marriage in Buddhist Literature

In the Buddhist period of Indian history we do not find any hard and fast rule about the age at which girls are to be married, nor do we come across instances of early marriage. Girls are sometimes seen to have been married at the age of sixteen. In the *Asilakkhaṇa* (no. 126) and the *Mudu-Pāṇi* (no. 262) *Jātakas*, we read that a princess was given in marriage when she was sixteen years old. The *Dhammapada Commentary* (II, 217) says that Kuṇḍalakesī, a beautiful daughter of a banker of Rājagaha, remained unmarried till the age of sixteen. It further says that at this age women long for men—(tasmin ca vaye ṭhitā nāriyo purisajjhāsayā honti purisalolā).

Limitations on marriage imposed by Brāhmaṇic usage are conspicuous by their absence in Buddhist literature and even sister-marriage is referred to. The mythical origin of the Licchavis as recorded in the *Paramatthadīpanī* on the *Khuddakapāṭha* (ed. by H. Smith, pp. 158-160) illustrates the point.

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (pt. I, pp. 258-260) presents us with another instance of marriage not allowed by Brāhmaṇic scriptures. It says that king Okkāka had five queens. By the chief queen, he had four sons and five daughters. After the death of the chief queen, the king married another young lady who extorted from him the promise to place her son upon the throne. The king thereupon requested his sons to leave the kingdom. The princes accordingly left the kingdom accompanied by their sisters, and going to a forest near the Himālayas, they began to search for a site for building a city. In course of their search, they met the sage Kapila who said that they should build a town in the place where he (the sage) lived. The princes built the town and named it Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu). In course of time, the four brothers married the four sisters, excepting the eldest one and they came to be known as the Śākya. The *Mahāvamsa* also refers to sister-marriage. It says that Sihabāhu, ruler of the kingdom of Lālha, made his sister Sihasīvalī his queen.¹

1 Lālharatṭhe pure tasmin Sihabāhu narādhipo rajjam kāresi

It is, however, difficult to say how far the Buddhist stories about the origin of some famous political communities by sister-marriage can be regarded as historical. Sister-marriage was not in vogue in ancient India even in the earliest times of which we have any record, as the story of Yama and Yami in the *R̥g-Veda* amply demonstrates. The idea was revolting to the Indians from the time of the *R̥g-Veda* down-wards.

The marriage of cousins, on the other hand, seems to have been by no means unusual. The marriage of Princess Vajirā with king Ajātasatru the son of her father's sister, is an illustration of this kind of marriage. Magha, a householder of Magadha, married his maternal uncle's daughter named Sujātā (*Dhammapada Commentary*, 265). Ānanda was enamoured of the beauty of his father's sister's daughter named Uppalavannā and wanted to marry her (*ibid.*, p. 48). This shows that cousins could marry. This is also borne out by the following *Jātaka* story (no. 262; cf. no. 126):

Marriage of a woman with her cousin.

A king had a daughter and a nephew who were in love with each other. The king intended to marry his nephew with a princess of some other country and his daughter with a prince of some other kingdom. The king guarded his daughter very closely. One night he watched his daughter and let her rest upon a little bed in his presence. She lay down without going to sleep. A little while after she said, "Father, I want to bathe." "Come along, my daughter," said the king. Holding her hands the king led her to the window; he lifted her and placed her on a lotus ornament outside it, holding her by one hand. As she bathed herself, she held out a hand to the prince, the nephew of the king and lover of the daughter. The prince loosed off the bangles from her arm, and fastened them on the arm of his soft-handed page boy; then he lifted the lad and placed him upon the lotus beside the princess. She took his hand, and placed it in her father's and went away with the prince. The king considered the lad to be his own daughter; and when the bathing was over, he put him to sleep in the royal bed chamber, shut the door and set his seal on it; then setting a guard he returned to his own chamber and lay down to rest. The next morning he opened the door and saw the lad. The lad being questioned

katvāna mahesiṃ Sthastvaliṃ (*Mahāvamsa*, Geiger's ed., p. 60; cf. *ibid.*, ch. VII., verses 67-68).

told the king how his daughter had fled with the prince. The king was cast down and thought, "Not even if one goes along and holds hands can one guard a woman?" Then he gave his daughter in marriage to the prince, his nephew who, on his maternal uncle's death, ascended the throne.

In the *Mahāvamsa* also we find references to cousin-marriage¹. *Cittā*, daughter of king *Paṇḍuvāsudeva* of *Laṅkā*, was so very beautiful that anybody seeing her would run mad. Hence *Cittā* was called *Ummādacittā*. Afraid of a prophecy that *Cittā*'s son would kill *Cittā*'s brothers for the throne, the princes kept their only sister in a chamber having but one pillar and the entry to the chamber lay through the king's sleeping apartment. *Cittā* had only one serving woman. One day she saw her maternal uncle's son named *Dīghagāmaṇi* and fell in love with him at first sight. With the help of the maid *Gāmaṇi* used to get into the princess's chamber stealthily every night. Matters went on in this way for sometime till *Cittā* was discovered to be with child. The serving woman informed the queen who, having questioned her daughter, brought the matter to the notice of the king. The king in consultation with his sons gave *Cittā* in marriage with her lover who was her maternal uncle's son.²

Suvannapālī was married and made queen by her father's sister's son named *Paṇḍukābhaya*.³

Marriage was usually of three forms : (1) Marriage arranged by guardians of both parties, (2) *Svayamvara*, and (3) *Gandharva* marriage.

Different forms
of marriage.

The common form of marriage was that arranged by guardians of both the parties and established between two families of the same caste and equal rank. This was akin to the *Prājāpatya* form of marriage current amongst the Hindus. Equality of birth and not of wealth was a matter of primary consideration before the settlement of a marriage. The *Sāvātthian* treasurer, *Migāra*, for instance, considered the equality of birth before he agreed to the proposal sent by Treasurer *Dhanañjaya* of *Sāketa* for the marriage of his daughter, *Viśākhā*

1 *Pitucchādhītaṃ taṃ so ādāya dhajinīpati, gantvāna Vaṅga-garaṃ saṃvāsaṃ tāya kappayī* (Geiger's ed., p. 58).

2 *Mahāvamsa*, Geiger's ed., ch. IX.

3 *Ibid.*, ch. X, 78.

with Migāra's son (Buddhist Parables, p. 161; cf. Dhammapada Commentary, vol. I, p. 390). In the Babbu Jātaka (no. 137) we read that a Sāvattian girl named Kāṇā was married to a husband of the same caste in another village. The Nakkhatta Jātaka (no. 49) tells us that a gentleman of the country near Sāvattī asked in marriage for his son a young Sāvattian lady of equal rank. We learn from the Therīgāthā Commentary (p. 250) that Isidāsī, daughter of a virtuous and wealthy merchant, was married to a merchant's son of equal position. Uttarā, daughter of Nandaka, commander-in-chief of Piṅgala, king of Surattṭha, was married to one of a family of equal position (Petavatthu Cy., pp. 244-257).

The Vimānavatthu informs us that a daughter of an upāsaka at Sāvattī was married to a member of another family of equal status. (Vimānavatthu Commentary, p. 128) The Manorathapūraṇī (p. 227) tells us that Sigālakamātā who came of the Treasurer's family at Rājagaha was married to a family of equal rank.

The usual practice in the form of marriage mentioned above was that the bridegroom used to come to the bride's house for marriage. The bridegroom and his party were received with great honour and were provided with both lodging and requisites—garlands, perfumes, garments and the rest.

Exceptions regarding caste and rank are sometimes met with in several works such as the Viruḍhakāvadāna in the Avadānakalpalatā, the Therīgāthā, the Mahāvamsa and the Jātakas. Pasenadi, king of Kosala, married a slave-girl of the Sākya Mahānāman and took her with him in great pomp to Sāvattī. This girl was called Mallikā, well-known for her wonderful touch. Pasenadi while intending to establish a connection with the Buddha's family by marriage, was deceived by the Sākyas who gave him in marriage, a girl named Vāsavakhattiyā, a daughter by a slave-woman of one of their leading chiefs, Mahānāman. This deception was avenged by Viḍūḍabha, son of Pasenadi by Vāsavakhattiyā (cf. Introduction to Kaṭṭhahārī Jātaka, no. 7; Dhammapada Commentary, vol. I, pp. 345 ff.). Asoka made a merchant's daughter named Devī his wife who bore him, in course of time, a son named Mahinda and a daughter named Saṅghamittā (Mahāvamsa, p. 88). The marriage of Kisāgotamī, daughter of a poverty-stricken house, with the son of a rich merchant was not preceded by any consideration of caste or rank (Dhammapada Commentary, II, p. 270). Similarly the equality of birth, family and wealth had to be sacrificed by the parents of Kuṇḍalakesī in marrying

her with a thief with whom she fell in love at first sight from the top of her house (ibid., p. 217). Cāpā, daughter of the chief of the hunters of Vaṅkahāra country, was given to an ascetic named Upaka as his wife. Upaka lived near the hunter's house where he used to go for alms. Once the hunter had to go out for seven days on a hunting excursion. Cāpā was asked to wait upon the ascetic. The first day the ascetic came to the hunter's house for alms, Cāpā came out and gave him alms. Upaka was captivated by her beauty. He returned home and lay fasting for seven days being fired by lust. The hunter came back and learnt everything. Thereupon he gave his daughter Cāpā to the ascetic Upaka as his bride (Therīgāthā Commentary, pp. 220 ff.). The circumstances which brought about the union of the hunter's daughter with an ascetic go to show that the consideration of caste or rank was sometimes sacrificed in exceptional circumstances. Cāpā, it might be said without fear of contradiction, was given by her father to an ascetic out of respect towards the latter. The story of Triśaṅku, the Caṇḍāla chieftain, narrated in the Divyāvadāna, is the only instance indicating the marriage of a Brahmin daughter with the Caṇḍāla's learned son Śārdulakarna (pp. 620 *et seq.*).

The second form of marriage was Svayaṃvara or a girl's publicly choosing a husband for herself from a number of suitors assembled for the purpose. The Kuṇḍala Jātaka (no. 536) refers to Svayaṃvara. the Svayaṃvara marriage of princess Kaṇhā who, on seeing the five sons of king Paṇḍu, viz., Ajjuna, Nakula, Bhīmasena, Yudhiṣṭhira and Sahadeva in Svayaṃvara assembly, fell in love with all five, threw a wreathed coil of flowers on their heads while they were standing before her, and said, "Dear mother, I choose these five men." She was allowed to have these five men as her husbands. This is evidently a reminiscence of the celebrated Svayaṃvara marriage of Draupadī recorded in the Mahābhārata. In the Nacca Jātaka (no. 32) also we read that a princess prayed to her father for a boon that she might be allowed to choose a husband for herself. With a view to grant her prayer, the king invited all princes to a Svayaṃvara sabhā convened for the purpose. Princes from all countries assembled there. The king sent for his daughter and bade her go and choose a husband after her own heart. The girl appeared before the assembly and selected one as her life-mate. The selected husband was then found to be wanting in modesty and was therefore disapproved by the king.

Generally do we find in the Hindu literature that a person chosen

by a maid in Svayaṃvara assembly becomes the husband of the maid despite his demerits. Of course in such an assembly kings and princes are suitors. But this appears to be an exceptional instance in which the final verdict rests with the bride's father.

The Dhammapada Commentary furnishes us with another reference to a Svayaṃvara marriage. It tells us that Vepacitti, king of the Asuras, refused to give his daughter in marriage to any of the Asura princes. So he said, "My daughter shall choose for herself such a husband as she sees fit." He then assembled the host of Asuras, made over a garland of flowers to his daughter and said to her, "choose for yourself a husband who suits you." The girl selected one as her husband and threw the wreath over his head (Dhammapada Commentary, vol. I, pp. 278-279).

The third form of marriage is what may be called the Gandharva form of marriage in which the bride and the bridegroom make their own choice without the knowledge of their guardians, and are married without rites or ceremonies.

The Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka (no. 7) gives us an instance of this Gandharva form of marriage. Once a king having gone in great state to his pleasure-garden was wandering hither and thither for fruits and flowers. He saw a woman who was merrily singing away as she picked up sticks in the grove. The king fell in love with her at first sight and became intimate with her. The woman knew and told the king that she would become a mother. The king gave her the signet-ring from his finger and said, "If it be a girl, spend this ring on her nurture; but if it be a boy, bring the ring and the child to me." In course of time a child was born. When the child could run about and play, he was taken by his mother to the king with the signet ring. After great difficulty the boy was proved to be the son of the king who made him viceroy and his mother queen-consort. This story reminds us of the well-known union of Śakuntalā with king Duśyanta in the Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam of Kālidāsa.

Women were sometimes seduced and abducted. These eloped women subsequently married in some cases and in others they used to pass off as wives without going through any matrimonial rite. In the Dhammapada Commentary (vol. I, pp. 191 ff.), we read that Vāsula-dattā, daughter of Caṇḍapajjota of Ujjain, was given by her father to Udena to teach her the mantra for capturing elephants.

Udena fell in love with Vāsuladattā and eloped with her. Afterwards Udena married her and made her his queen. The

same work (vol. II, p. 260 f.) informs us that Paṭācāra was the daughter of a rich banker of Sāvattihī. When sixteen she was kept on the topmost floor of a seven storied palace and was guarded with excessive care, but she fell in love with her own page. On the day fixed for her marriage with another youth, equal in birth and rank, she eloped with her lover, took shelter in a distant village and dwelt in a hamlet. Nowhere in this account do we find that Paṭācāra was married by her paramour subsequent to elopement. But they passed off as husband and wife and in course of time Paṭācāra gave birth to a child (cf. Therīgāthā Commentary, p. 108). The Assaka Jātaka (No. 100) also says that the king of Kosala came up with a great force against the king of Benares, slew the king and bore off his queen to be his own wife. A similar instance of the abduction of a woman is met within the Takka Jātaka (No. 63) which says that a village girl was kidnapped and kept as wife by a robber chieftain.

To guard against elopement, abduction and unions not sanctioned by custom, women were often kept inside the purdah. We learn from

Seclusion of
women.

the Dhammapada Commentary that a rich man's daughter, when she attained marriageable age, was lodged

by her parents in an apartment of royal splendour on the topmost floor of a seven storied palace, with a female slave to guard her (vol. III, p. 24). No male servant was kept in that house (ibid., vol. II, p. 217). Daughters of noble families did not ordinarily come out of their houses but they travelled in chariots and the like, while others entered an ordinary carriage or raised a parasol or a palmyra-leaf over their heads; but if this was not available, they took the skirt of their undergarment and threw it over their shoulder (Dhammapada Commentary, vol. I, p. 391).

From the instances cited above it is reasonable to hold that elopement and the preservation of chastity *inter alia* contributed largely to the observance of purdah by the tender sex before or after marriage. But there are exceptions, Visākhā, for example, while going to her father-in-law's house just after her marriage entered the city of Sāvattihī not under the purdah but standing up in a chariot uncovered showing herself to all the city (D. C., I, pp. 384 ff.). Daughters of respectable families who did not ordinarily stir out used to go on foot, during a festival, with their own retinue and bathe in the river (Dhammapada Commentary, vol. I, pp. 190, 191 and 388). These instances indeed show a relaxation of the purdah system.

Lucky days were arranged for marriage in which the bride or bride-

groom was brought home or sent forth (*Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. I, p. 11).

Marriage ceremonies were held during auspicious hours which were strictly observed by some. We learn from the *Nakkhatta Jātaka* that a naked ascetic was consulted as to whether stars were favourable for holding marriage ceremonies. The fixed day was found to be inauspicious and the bridegroom did not come to the bride's house for marriage (*Jātaka*, no. 49).

Auspicious days observed for the celebration of marriage.

The Buddhist literature hardly mentions the prevalence of dowry system in connection with marriage ceremonies. But instances of dowry being given by the bride's father are referred to in the *Visākhāya-vatthu* of the *Dhammapada Commentary* (vol. I).

Dowry.

The *Sāvattthian* treasurer, *Migāra*, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter, *Visākhā*, well-known in the Buddhist literature, gave her as dowry five hundred carts filled with money, five hundred filled with vessels of gold, five hundred filled with vessels of silver, five hundred filled with copper vessels, five hundred filled with garments made of various kinds of silk, five hundred filled with ghee, five hundred filled with rice husked and winnowed, and five hundred filled with ploughs, plough-shares and other farm implements. Sixty thousand powerful bulls and sixty thousand milch-cows, and some powerful bull-calves were also given to her.

The *Dhammapada Commentary* and the *Jātakas* tell us that marriage of girls was celebrated with bath-money given by the father to his daughter. *Mahā-Kosala*, father of *Pasenadi*, king of *Kosala*, married his daughter *Kośala-devi* to king *Bimbisāra* of *Magadha* and gave her a village in *Kāsi* for her bath and perfume money (*Jātakas*, nos. 239 and 283). Princess *Vajirā* was the daughter of *Pasenadi* of *Kosala*. She was given in marriage to *Ajātasattu* of *Magadha*. *Kāsigāma* was given to her by her father for her bath and perfume money (*Dhammapada Comy.*, vol. III, p. 266). The *Sāvattthian* treasurer, *Migāra*, gave his daughter, on her marriage, fifty-four crores of treasure to buy aromatic powders for the bath (*ibid.*, vol. I, p. 398).

Bath and perfume money.

The custom of collecting presents (*pañṇākāraṇa*) on the occasion of a marriage ceremony is met with in the *Dhammapada Commentary* (vol. I, p. 182), where we read that on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of *Visākhā*, daughter of *Dhanañjaya Setṭhi* with the son of *Migāra Setṭhi*, presents including a hundred each of all kinds of gifts were collected from hundred villages.

Levy on the occasion of a marriage ceremony.

Admonitions
to a married
girl.

After marriage the girl was sent to her father-in-law's house with the following admonitions :¹

1. Do not bring outside the indoor fire.
2. Do not bring inside the outdoor fire.
3. Give only to him that gives.
4. Do not give him that does not give.
5. Give both to him that gives and him that does not give.
6. Sit happily.
7. Eat happily.
8. Sleep happily.
9. Tend the fire.
10. Honour the household divinity.

These ten admonitions were interpreted as follows :—

1. If the mother-in-law or other female members of the household engage in a private conversation within the house, their conversation is not to be communicated to slaves, whether female or male, for such conversation is tattled about and causes quarrels.
2. The conversation of slaves and servants is not to be communicated to persons within the household ; as such conversation is talked about and causes quarrels.
3. This means that one should give only to those that return borrowed articles.
4. This means that one should not give to those who do not return borrowed articles.
5. This means that one should help poor kinsfolk and friends who look for succour, without considering their capability of repaying.
6. This means that a wife seeing her mother-in-law or her father-in-law, should stand and not remain sitting.
7. This means that a wife should not eat before her mother-in-law, father-in-law and husband have taken their meals. She should serve them first, and when she is sure that they

1 Anto aggi bahi na nīharitabbo, bahi aggi anto na pavesitabbo, dadantass' eva dātabbam, adadantassa na dātabbam, dadantassāpi adadantassāpi dātabbam, sukham nisīditabbam, sukham bhuñjitabbam, sukham nipajjitabbam, aggi paricaritabbo, antodevatāpi namassitabbā' ti idam dasavidham ovādam. Dhammapada Comy., I, pp. 397-398.

have had all they care for, then and not till then may she herself eat.

8. This means that a wife should not go to bed before her mother-in-law, father-in-law and husband. She should first perform all the duties which she owes them and then she may herself lie down to sleep.
9. This means that a wife should regard her mother-in-law, father-in-law or husband as a flame of fire or a serpent-king.
10. When a monk, after keeping residence in a remote lodging, comes to the door of a house and the housewife sees him, she must first give to such a monk whatever food there is in the house, both hard and soft; and then she may eat. (Dhammapada Comy., I, pp. 403-404).

Buddhist literature contains but one reference to polyandry. The only exception indicating the existence of polyandry occurs in the Kuṇāla Jātaka¹ in which we read that princess Kaṇhā was allowed to have at a time five husbands selected by her in a Svayaṃvara assembly. A woman could not marry more than one man at a time nor could a woman as a general rule marry twice in her life though there were exceptions.² We learn from the Nakkhatta Jātaka (no. 49) that on the failure of the selected bridegroom's coming to the bride's house on the appointed day the bride was given in marriage to another bridegroom. When the first bridegroom came he was told that the girl could not be married twice over. It was not the custom for a wedded wife to take another mate even if she was not loved by her husband.³ But there are instances in which married women who were either kidnapped or seduced were kept as wives. While a woman does not generally appear to have taken more than one husband, a man appears to have married more than one woman. In the Vimānavatthu Commentary (pp. 149-

1 Jātaka, no. 536.

2 Infra.

3 "Ārā dūre na idha kadāci atthi.
paramparā nāma kule imasmiṃ,
taṃ kullavattaṃ anuvattamānā
'māham kule antimagandhinī ahuṃ'
etassa vādassa jigucchamānā
akāmikā baddha carāmi tuyhan ti."
(Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātaka, Fausboll, Jātaka, vol. IV, p. 35).

156) we read that Bhaddā being barren told her husband to marry her sister Subhaddā. The husband did so. The Babbu Jātaka (no. 137) tells us that a wife delayed in coming back to her husband's house from her father's house and the husband took a second wife. The Ruhaka Jātaka (no. 191) informs us that a husband sent her naughty and deceitful wife away and took a second wife. The Assaka Jātaka (no. 207) gives us another instance of a husband's taking a second wife. In it we read that king Assaka of Potali, a city in the kingdom of Kāśī, took a second queen on the death of his first queen Ubbarī. In some of the Jātakas¹ we find that certain kings had as many as sixteen thousand wives. A Magadhan householder named Magha had four wives at a time, viz., Nandā, Cittā, Sudhammā, and Sujātā (D. C., I, 265). King Bimbisāra had 500 wives (Mahāvagga, viii, 1, 15). King Okkāka had five queens (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, p. 258). The Mahāvamsa records that Māyā and Mahāmāyā, two uterine sisters, were given in marriage to Suddhodana (Geiger's text, p. 14). This is borne out by the fact related in the Tibetan Buddhist books as translated by Rockhill (Life of the Buddha, p. 15) that Suddhodana, in spite of the rigorous provision of the law of the land prohibiting every citizen from marrying more than one woman, was allowed to have two wives as a mark of gratitude for his subduing the hillmen of the Pāṇḍava tribe while a prince. Thus we see that husbands used to take more than one wife in the lifetime of the first wife or after her death. While the man had the privilege of marrying more than one woman at a time, the woman had the misfortune of enduring cruel treatment at the hands of her co-wife.

The worst misery for a woman is to have a co-wife. In almost all cases fellow-wives quarrel with one another and make home a place to fly away from rather than to fly to for peace and comfort. A woman cannot tolerate that her husband should ignore her very existence and take pleasure with other women (Jātaka, no. 519). Sometimes barren women used to bring a second wife for their husbands for the continuance of their husband's line; but the inherent jealousy of women against their co-wives exhibits itself when their co-wives bear children and become husband's favourites. The Dhammapada Commentary (I, 45 ff.) tells us that the first wife of a householder of Sāvattthī being barren, brought another wife for her husband. When her

1 Jātakas, nos. 514, 538.

co-wife became pregnant, she was jealous and effected abortion by administering medicine. Thrice did the woman commit this heinous crime with the result that her co-wife succumbed at last to the effect of the abortive medicine. But the cruel woman did not escape the penalty for doing this sinful deed. She was beaten to death by her husband who declared her to be the cause of the death of his pregnant wife and destroyer of his line.

The *Petavatthu* gives us another illustration. *Mattā* the wife of a householder of *Sāvattihī* was childless. Hence her husband took another wife named *Tissā*. Being jealous of the rival wife, *Mattā*, one day, heaped together the sweepings and threw them on the head of her co-wife. *Tissā* endured humiliation and bad behaviour of her co-wife. On her death *Mattā* was born as a *peti* who suffered various miseries. One day she appeared before *Tissā* and requested her to offer on her account, food, etc. to eight *bhikkhus*. *Tissā* bore no grudge against her co-wife despite her ill-behaviour. She did as requested, and *Mattā* was released from the *petaloka* (*Paramatthadīpanī* on the *Petavatthu*, pp. 82-89).

Divorce was allowed but without any formal decree. *Isidāsī*, for instance, had to return twice to her father's house having been turned out of the house by successive husbands because she did not prove desirable for one husband after another (*Therī-gāthā* Comy., p. 260). No instance is recorded of similar action taken against the husband.

Certain passages indicate that remarriage of women was not unknown in the Buddhist period. The introduction to the *Ucchaṅga Jātaka* (no. 67) which tells us that a woman's husband, brother and son were once imprisoned. Her loud lamentations caused the king to show her favour. The king said to her "I give you one of the three, which will you take?" "Sire," was her answer, "if I live, I can get another husband and another son; but as my parents are dead, I can never get another brother. So give me my brother, Sire." This reply of the woman indicates that a woman could probably marry more than once. The instance of *Isidāsī*, cited above, also illustrates the point.

The Ceylonese Chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, furnishes us with an instance of widow-remarriage. In it we read that king *Khallāṭanāga* was overpowered by the Commander of his troops named *Kammahārattaka*. The Commander was killed by the king's younger brother named *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi*. The latter began to rule the kingdom, took his nephew, *Mahācūlika* as his son

Remarriage of women.

Widow remarriage.

and made his elder brother's wife, Anulādevī, his queen (Geiger, text, pp. 269-270).

The Avadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra mentions that woman was man's absolute property. Man could dispose of woman in any way he liked.

It tells us that Śrīsenā, a charitable king of the Ariṣṭā country, had a queen named Jayaprabhā. To fulfil the desire of his preceptor, a disciple came to the king and prayed for queen Jayaprabhā to be given as a preceptor's fee. Śrīsenā with a smiling face gave away his queen Jayaprabhā. But the preceptor, on receiving the desired fee, changed his mind. He sent back the queen with due respect to the king (Śrīsenāvadāna). In complying with the request of Vāhika-muni, a disciple of Marīci, Manicūḍa, king of Śāketa, gave away his queen Padmāvatī along with her son to wait upon the old sage (Manicūḍāvadāna). Viśvantara, prince of Viśvapuri, being requested by Indra in a brāhmaṇa's guise, gave away his own wife Mādri (Viśvantarāvadāna).

BIMALA CHURN LAW

Philosophy of Dharma (Law)*

Law is genetically connected with custom and usage, and with abstract truth so far as its nature is concerned. Law expresses the truth underlying creation and conduct and is thus a standard or ideal. It is the sanction for and at the same time the evaluation of daṇḍa or state authority, since the state would be blind without it in the absence of some form of guidance and direction. The state upholds it for its nature which helps the state to realise some truth or part of it within its jurisdiction. Whether metaphysical or empirical its normative character is correlated with the doctrine of daṇḍa as power over individuals living in society. "Law itself must be created by the social

* N. B. For the technical uses of *dharma*, see Central Conception of Buddhism, p. 74; Buddhist Psychology (Introduction), History of Indian Philosophy, pp. 316-317.

spirit which it aims at creating."¹ The unity behind social spirit shows law in relation to morals and freedom. Law needs to be explained as to its permanency, authority and operation.

The Basis of Law

As the expression of system or order, Law was the theme of the Vedic time. It supplied the basis of ethical and social ideas reflecting itself in the concrete social order as well as in custom and usage, probably known in its narrower sense through the dictates of the Vedic assembly which was a national institution representing society in general. But its abstract foundation engaged the most poetic and sublime vision of the sages. It was thus idealised to the highest while the stages of the process revealed philosophic depth regarding the significance of the world order as a whole. A type of philosophy of law is traced in the ancient Vedic literature yet unexpanded into schools.

K. V. R. Aiyangar has remarked—"The two senses of law (dharma) are closely related to each other in ancient India. To maintain law in its wider sense, all its legislative activity had to be guided and controlled by the existence of law as an ideal.² It is exactly here that the philosophy of law intervenes and shows the higher reaches of legal thought. Rising from the idea of order in the Vedas it spreads over all sides of human activity. The gods of the earliest ages all expressed order or system of some kind in their own spheres.³ Their decrees and statutes, whether of Varuṇa the ethical god or of Indra the national god, meant regulative principles of nature and society. The projection of this idea into all departments of human life was only a natural and legitimate procedure for the early thinkers. They saw order everywhere in the world and declared "order dwells amongst men, in truth in noblest places."⁴ Thus the foundation of moral, social and political law was laid down for ever. Max Müller said "in the Vedic hymns *ṛta*, from meaning the order of the heavenly movements, became in time the name for moral order and righteousness."⁵ The character of this ever-present system or order in the universe is described as "of

1 Bosanquet, *Phil. Theo. of State*, p. 38.

2 *Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 64.

3 Griswold, *Religion of the R̥g Veda*, pp. 108, 174.

4 *R̥g Veda*, IV, 40 (Dutt's Trans.)

5 Hibbert *Lec.*, 1878, p. 235.

rta (order), sure and firm-set are the bases."¹ Its moral effect is that "the thought of *rta* slayeth crookedness."² "Human laws only reflect the laws of gods, the first effect of law is that it binds men together."³

Backed up by this conception of the Vedic seers, the abstract side of law came to be developed philosophically. Indeed a clear and definite vision of a system pervading the universe in its metaphysical aspect is one of the greatest discoveries of the time. Further, law led to truth, everlasting as it is,⁴ yielding a sense of unchanging permanency. It is said "by law they came to truth"⁵ and then both are identified as one. Thus "Truth is the Sun's extended light.....Truth is the base that bears the earth."⁶ Again "Law and truth are born of fervour"⁷ being two sides of one reality. In the Atharva Veda⁸ law is above the gods, "the home and life of the gods." It was a mysterious entity to the early mind, but still a metaphysical reality to be put later in philosophical language by the writers of the Upaniṣads.

Leaving aside all figurative clothing, the Upaniṣads proceeded in the spirit of pure philosophy and declared the truth, that is, the one reality, and law and order ; and everything of system and interconnection are merged into it as merely its different phases. In this period the word *rta* is replaced by the word *dharma*, the former being simpler as the latter is highly complex, but the conceptions are closely parallel. The advance in Vedic thought consists in more abstract treatment and better analysis. If law and order are analysed the remainder is abstract truth ; that which is true in law and order is truth, *i.e.*, law is truth. And nothing but truth endures, for truth is the measure of the degree of reality. Law is powerful and lasting because it pertains to truth. It was the age of the solidification of thought and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad crystalised the idea almost to finality in its famous passage quoted below,—

"Brahman (the supreme being) created the most excellent law.

1 R̥g Veda, V, 8 (Gr. Tr.).

2 Ibid., V, 9.

3 Hopkins' Ethics of India, p. 38.

4 R̥g Veda, VII, 39 ; IX, 74.

5 Ibid., VII, 56.

6 Ibid., I, 105, 12—Satyaṃ tātāna sūryyo...; X, 85, 1—Satyenotta-bhitā bhūmiḥ.

7 Ibid., X, 190, 1—"R̥taṃ ca satyaṃ cābhiddhāt tapaso'dhya-jāyata."

8 II, 1 ; Cf. R̥g Veda, X, 65

Law is the king of kings.¹ Therefore there is nothing higher than law. Thenceforth even a weak man rules with the help of law as with the help of a king. And if a man declares what is true, they say he declares law, and if he declares law they say he declares what is true.² Both are the same."³

Again: "Law (dharma) is the honey (sweetness) of all beings, and the lustrous, deathless spiritual being in it is...Brahman"⁴

This is only another way of saying that moral authority imbedded in law is metaphysical in character. The same conception is found in Hooker—"Of law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world, all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care and the greatest as not exempted from her power."⁵ In the Upaniṣadic treatment it is noticeable that the law-givers are called the declarers of truth, law and truth being definitely characterised as the same. All the later law-makers followed this standpoint if they wanted to be idealistic and not simply empirical. It is the well-known Pindaric attitude to law conceived in the same spirit as Pindar's immortal words: "Law, the king of all, both mortals and immortals." The old Vedic idea of order in the very core of the world is spiritualised in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad⁶ which puts the whole matter pithily in a short sentence: "So the whole world has truth as its soul, that is, reality." Hopkins says that "*dharma* is employed to characterise the very nature of god" and is "the form of god."⁷

The Buddhist period in fact supported the ideal of law handed down through the ages. Norm and righteousness are the principal thought and the Buddhist conception of law, though essentially moral in nature, shows the tendency observed in the Upaniṣads. Buddha himself gave the broad indication of four dharmas to Nandaka, namely, unshakable faith (*a*) in the Buddha, (*b*) in the dharma, (*c*) in the saṅgha, and (*d*) the possession of śīlas, as declared by the Āryas, by which a disciple can obtain salvation.⁸ The second is the point at issue here.

1 Cf. Aṅguttara Nikāya, Rājovāḍavagga :—dhamma is rañño rājā.

2 Cf. Dr. Barua's Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy (on the relation between truth and law and the meaning of truth), pp. 87, 335-6.

3 Br. Up., I, 4, 11-14 (R. C. Dutt's Trans.).

4 Ibid., 5, 11.

5 Ecc. Pol., I, 18.

6 VI. 6, 13.

7 Ethics of India, pp. 64, 185.

8 Samyutta Nikāya (P. T. S.), vol. v, pp. 389-90.

Later on Buddhism converted the law and the church into expressions of the Buddha himself, and the law (dhamma) became an external manifestation of Buddha.¹ Rhys Davids in a general way summarised the ideal,—“Dharma is not simply law, but that which underlies and includes the law—a word often most difficult to translate and best rendered by truth or righteousness.”² Mrs. Rhys Davids has explained Dharma to mean “the normal, necessary and eternal order and law of all moral spiritual things ; it stood in place of a theodicy or cosmos created and carried on by a first and final cause.”³ It is like the necessity of Æschylus, a Greek conception which was used for explaining things and events. According to Dr. Stcherbatsky, “the conception of dharma is the central point of the Buddhist doctrine. In the light of this conception Buddhism discloses itself as a metaphysical theory developed out of one fundamental principle, viz., the idea that existence is an interplay of a plurality of subtle, ultimate, not further analysable elements of matter, mind and forces. These elements are technically called dharmas, a meaning which this word has in this system..... But although the conception of an element of existence has given rise to an imposing structure in the shape of a consistent system of philosophy, its inmost nature remains a riddle. What is Dharma? It is inconceivable. It is subtle. No one will ever be able to tell what its real nature is. It is transcendental.”⁴ This is equal to saying that it eludes definition and determination and is therefore of the character of the absolute in spite of the fact that it has been applied in many ways.

Exhaustive elaboration was made of it in the great Epic. The epic character of Dharma (righteous law) is likewise highly generalised in conception and metaphysical at the last analysis. In the *Mahābhārata*, Dharma is at first superficially said to be based on justice and truth.⁵ As such it is the good of all.⁶ Ultimately all these are run into one another and Dharma becomes equal to goodness,⁷ light and beauty.⁸ Further it is “the immortality of the gods,” i.e. im-

1 Ethics of India, p. 185.

2 Buddhism, p. 45.

3 Buddhism, p. 35. 4 Central Conception of Buddhism, pp. 73,75.

5 Udyoga Parva, 33 ; Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 85.

6 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 262.

7 Anuśāsana Parva, 105.

8 Bhīṣma Parva, 23 ; cf. Matthew Arnold, who identifies perfection with sweetness and light as well as with reason and God's will (Culture and Anarchy, p. 30).

mortality itself. Consequently Nilakaṇṭha has made it the very "cause of Kaivalya."¹ The conclusion of the Epic verily goes back to the idea of the Atharva Veda. Figuratively it is spoken of as rising out of Nārāyaṇa (God) and "merging back into Him"² and is also asserted to be the ultimate salvation³ and its absence is death.⁴ Even Kauṭilya's empirical outlook had to yield that "Dharma (righteous law) is eternal truth holding sway over the world."⁵ In the Vyavahāra Darpaṇa, which closely follows the Upaniṣadic style and thought, "law is described to be something eternal and self-existent, the king of kings, far more powerful and right than they."⁶ Legal idealism handed down by the earliest speculations was in this way maintained throughout until it rose to its highest in the great Epic. It appears to be eternally ordained and embedded in the constitution of the world and also capable of ascertainment partly by revelation and partly by enquiry in a reverential spirit into the very nature of Dharma. Prof. Sen Gupta has remarked that this is the "comprehensive idea of law which is the dream and perhaps the despair of the sociological school of the modern philosophical jurists."⁷ Here is found "the oriental counterpart of the Greek, Stoic, Roman and Patristic conceptions of law."⁸

Empirical View

Away from the philosophic treatment given above there is another line of thought which does not care so much for the content of Dharma as for its practical use in society through human agency. It would be the empirical basis of law in the sense that it does not go backwards enough but rests with the human stage of it, which is seen in pronounced collective opinion solidified into codes. "In early Aryan society Law was invariably looked upon as founded on the twin roots of religion and agreement of men learned in sacred lore."⁹ The ancient pariṣads or

1 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 193—"Dharmo...devānāmamṛtaṃ divi" (Bengal ed., p. 455). According to Nilakaṇṭha, it is "kaivalya-kāraṇam" (Bombay ed., p. 28).

2 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 348—"Antar-dadhe tato bhūyo Nārāyaṇa-samāhitāḥ" (Beng. ed., p. 871).

3 Āpad-dharma Parva, 147.

4 Anuśāsana Parva, 61.

5 Arthaśāstra, p. 191.

6 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of H., p. 208.

7 Sources of Law and Society, p. 27.

8 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 208.

9 Sources of Law and Society, p. 44.

assemblies of Brāhmaṇas functioned as law-declarers from this point of view, and the Brāhmaṇas were the makers of law.¹ In a more positive way the principle of agreement would apply to the statutes of corporate bodies such as guilds and municipalities which were states within the state with full recognition of their power and status. Mr. Jayaswal says, "they are really the resolutions of these bodies and had the force of law."²

(a) From the general standpoint both Āpastamba and Gautama have acknowledged this principle of agreement.³ Laws rising out of agreement are called "Samayācārika" rules, from the word 'Samaya' which means an agreement. It is explained by Haradatta as "consisting of customs settled by human agreement."⁴ Accordingly the character of law is determined by common consent and law is based on it. Āpastamba makes it clearer by admitting that "so far as Samayācārika rules are concerned the Vedas furnish very little guidance."⁵ The whole idea of basing law on agreement is modern and is found in writers like Locke, Hobbes and Rousseau. Under this exposition fall the definitions of law such as :—

- (i) "Law is what is unanimously approved in all countries by men of the Aryan society, who have been properly obedient to their teachers, who are aged, of subdued senses, neither given to avarice nor to hypocrisy."⁶
- (ii) "Law is whatever is practised and cherished at heart by the virtuous and the learned who are devoid of prejudice and passion."⁷
- (iii) "Law is the practice of the Śiṣṭas, i.e., those whose hearts are free from desire."⁸

1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 77 ; Manu, viii, 391.

2 Hindu Polity, II, p. 106—N. B. This has been lately refuted by Dr. N. N. Law on very cogent grounds. It is evident that Dr. Law's criticism of texts and their substances reveals new meanings and relations, and thus does not logically allow the position held by Mr. Jayaswal (*J. H. Q.*, June, 1926, p. 385).

3 Āpastamba I, 1, 1 ; Gautama, VIII, 11.

4 Sources of Law and Society, p. 43.

5 Āpastamba, II, 2, 29.

6 Āpastamba, I, 7, 20. Cf. "That is virtue which is applauded by many, etc." (Śukra-nīti, p. 264).

7 Manu, ii, 1.

8 Vasiṣṭha, I, 5-6 ; Baudhāyana, I, 1, 1, 4-6.

A tacit agreement is assumed in these cases in the approvals and practices of those who are looked upon as guides and patterns, otherwise no standard could possibly be found for any kind of judgment.

Specific legislation by bodies of men associated together would fall into two divisions 'Samaya' and 'Samvid'. The first class is defined as "law or resolution agreed upon in an assembly" and the second as "agreement or laws by agreement recorded in a roll." Thus they are not "*leges*" which were embodied in the Hindu common law but were administrative statutes of fiscal and political nature.¹ It seems probable that 'Samaya' was more general and powerful, applying to the whole country, while 'Samvid' was particular and limited to groups and sections.

A further division of the 'Samvid' agreement is pointed out by Mr. Row. According to him it is of two kinds—Rāja-kṛta and Samūha-kṛta, i.e., either laid down by the king or by the different public bodies. "The body of learned men *created* by the king is called 'Rāja-kṛta samudaya' and their prescribed course of duty is 'Rāja-kṛta samvid'. The body of learned men *elected* by the people is called Samūha or Samudaya and their prescribed course of duty is Samūha-kṛta samvid."²

The aspect of law based on agreement equally formed a distinct division of legal thought in the ancient West. Demosthenes, Xenophon and Anaximenes gave indications of this line of speculation showing the practical nature of law-making through deliberation and agreement. Demosthenes has called it "the common covenant of the state" and Anaximenes "a definite proposition in pursuance of a common agreement of the state." According to Xenophon "whatsoever the ruling part of the state, after deliberating what ought to be done, shall enact, is called a law."³

(b) Another source of law (dharma) is the will of the sovereign in the Austinian sense and in this respect it is determinate and definite positive law like the laws of agreement which have the same character. The standpoint of Hobbes expresses the import of positive law as against natural law, serving for the criterion required in this case. In the *Leviathan* it is said of laws that "positive are those which have not been laws from eternity but have been laws by the will of those that have had sovereign power over others."⁴ The same strain is found in

1 Hindu Polity, p. 107.

2 Dev. of Democracy in India, p. 98.

3 Holland, Jurisprudence, p. 39.

4 *Leviathan*, p. 148.

Kauṭilya who is for accepting as law "the royal command enforced by sanction."¹ Speaking of such commands he mentions "thirteen purposes for which royal writs are issued," and as regards their varieties he gives the following :—"Writs of command, of information, of guidance, of remission, of license, of gift, of reply, of general proclamation."²

The Epic endorses Kauṭilya's view and states clearly that "whatever he (the king) shall fix as dharma (law) is to be considered actual dharma (law)."³

Nārada has shown the rise of positive law (vyāvahāra) because of the neglect of duty on the part of men.⁴ This is equal to saying that positive law in the shape of king's order was necessitated by the peoples' conduct who did not do their parts and were therefore forced to do them through the machinery of the state. Prof. Sarkar says "the performance of duty having fallen into disuse, positive law (vyāvahāra) has been introduced and the king as superintending the law is known as *daṇḍa-dhara*" i. e. the inflictor of punishment.⁵ It is worthy of notice that Manu takes a middle course in recommending the king to declare law, having first referred to sacred texts and old customs.⁶ Bṛhaspati likewise says that "a decision must not be made solely by the letter of the written codes" ; "the reason of the law" and "immemorial usage" are also factors for consideration.⁷

Śukra, inspite of his wide outlook, seems to have followed Kauṭilya in respect of positive law. He lays down direct promulgation of laws by the king.⁸ And these laws are to be given the widest publicity by means of drums and notices⁹ backed up by the categorical statement that "I (the king) will surely destroy by severe punishment those offenders who after hearing these, my decrees, would act contrary to them."¹⁰ Hence the king has been fittingly called "the maker of the age" i. e. of good and evil practices.¹¹

The Mīmāṃsā dictum which is parallel to the views of Hobbes

1 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 209. 2 Arthaśāstra, p. 83.

3 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 91. Cf. Dharma lies in "the dictates of good men and superiors" (Ādi Parva, 123 ; Vana Parva, 208).

4 Nārada, Intro., I, 2. 5 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 209.

6 Manu, VIII, 41. But in VII, 13, Manu and his commentator have both accepted "rajānujñā" in the sense of positive law.

7 Quoted from Vyavahāra-tattva in S. Roy's Customary Law, p. 17.

8 Sukranīti, p. 38.

9 Ibid., p. 43.

10 Śukra-nīti, p. 42.

11 Ibid., p. 132.

and Bentham gives the most succinct definition yet found of positive law. According to Jaimini, Dharma is "Codanālakṣaṇo'rthaḥ" i. e. that desired for object which is characterised by command.¹ Hobbes makes it "the speech of him who by right commands somewhat to be done or omitted".² "Jaimini has also examined the reason as to why that which is determined by a command should be obligatory. He analyses the reason as lying in the fact that the relation between the word of command and the purpose to which it is directed is eternally efficacious."³

In Nārada and Brhaspati, positive law is seen to be above all other laws. Both are emphatic on this point. By their time it is certain that the power of the state was consolidated to a great, if not the greatest, extent. Nārada says,—“Royal order over-rules such laws.”⁴ And Brhaspati adds that “where the king, disregarding established usage, passes a sentence (according to his own inclination), it is called an edict.”⁵

Rational View

Another source of Dharma is said to be reason, in the sense of higher reason. The revelation of reason or conscience gives the knowledge or intuition of Dharma which is authoritative. It is called “self-satisfaction” as different from deliberation as a logical process. Manu as well as Yājñavalkya mentions this “ātma-tuṣṭi” and both agree that it leads to Dharma, or in other words yields Dharma in its own sphere, it being on the same plane as the other sources of law in their treatment.⁶ And they have not laid down any limitation to its application.

Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara raised the point as to when it should be really and actually applied. In other words they doubt if conscience could be the absolute guide for the purposes of Dharma. Medhātithi has, therefore, qualified it with the word “sādhūnām” i. e. of the good.⁷ The conscience only of the virtuous is trustworthy. It becomes clearer when Kumārila's criticism is subjoined, who shows that “Manu could

1 Jaimini, *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*, I, 1, 2, 2, cited in *Hinduism* by Govinda Das, p. 73. 2 Quoted in *Holland's Jurisprudence*, p. 39.

3 *Pol. Theo. and Ins. of Hindus*, p. 209.

4 XVII, 24 (S.B.E., 33, p. 217).

5 II, 27 (S.B.E. 33, p. 287).

6 Manu, II, 6, 13 ; Yājñavalkya, I, 7.

7 Manu I, Mandlik's ed. p. 100.

not have contemplated the satisfaction of evil passions by ātma-tuṣṭi.”¹ Vijñāneśvara on the contrary allows self-satisfaction from conscience to operate in the field of alternatives where choice can be made between a number of injunctions. He definitely says, “It relates to optional matters.....in selecting any one of the alternatives.”² Both commentators have thus kept within the sphere of orthodoxy by straining the point too much.

Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada have enunciated another principle, namely, that of discursive reason. It is called “saṅkalpamūlakāmaḥ” and “saṅkalpajakāmaḥ”—desire rooted in or born of deliberation.³ Here deliberation or reasoning is the prime factor in giving rise to Dharma. It is secondary indeed but nevertheless important. While Manu says “all dharmas...are born of deliberation,” Yājñavalkya says “they are rooted in deliberation.” Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara have for this the limitation that desire must not be “opposed to sacred law.”⁴ Nārada also upholds critical reason and gives it a place very significant from the standpoint of the proper adjustment of contradictory rules of the śāstras. It is reason which decides the case and elicits true Dharma and is therefore equal to criticism and reconstruction of Dharma. Nārada’s line is—“In the case of difference in dharma-śāstras, the right way is said to be with reason.”⁵

Bṛhaspati says,—“In case of conflict between two smṛtis, equity should be resorted to ; when the law books are inapplicable that course should be followed which is indicated by the consideration of the circumstances of the case.”⁶ Dr. Sen Gupta has thus remarked on this position of reason : “by putting it forward as a source of law the authors were not recognising any principle like the equity of Rome or England but simply laying down that law was to be rationally interpreted and applied.”⁷ Yet it seems that the Hindu legislators saw in reason a real reconstructing element which brought out some newness for dharma. The Epic has something to say on it starting with the assumption that “there are many doors to dharma,”⁸ and that “dharma

1 Sources of Law and Society in Anc. India, p. 84.

2 Mitākṣara (S. C. Vidyāratna’s ed.), p. 14.

3 Manu Saṃhitā, II, 3 ; Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā, I, 7.

4 Manu (Mandlik’s ed.), I, p. 91 ; Mitākṣara, (Vidyāratna’s ed.) p. 14.

5 Nārada I, 40. “Dharmaśāstravirodhe tu yuktivyukto vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ”

6 Bṛhaspati, XXVII, 2.

7 Sources of Law and Society, p. 82. 8 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 174.

is a very subtle thing.”¹ “The more it is discussed the finer it becomes.”² Consequently “the truth of dharma has to be found out by reason.”³ “The core of dharma is sought by the wise just as hunters trace the bloody foot-marks of the wounded deer.”⁴ “They can find out true dharma by separating it from true adharmā.”⁵ Indeed “the wise gain dharma”⁶; and “the wise indicated many kinds of dharma by the power of knowledge.”⁷

The knowledge of dharma is a corollary from the philosophical position of the source of dharma. Hence the question arises as to who knows dharma. The agreement basis of law is cut across by the Epic, Yājñavalkya and Śukra when it is said that even one competent man could declare law; just as one valid instance is sufficient to establish causation, so is one wise man enough to reveal authoritative dharma. Yājñavalkya says that dharma may be “that which even one person, who is best among the knowers of the spiritual science, declares.”⁸ Parāśara gives the same rule:—“Even a single brāhmaṇa, who is a muni with a knowledge of his self and devoted to prayers, performer of vedic sacrifices and ceremonial oblations, may constitute to himself an assembly (for declaring law) in his own individual capacity.”⁹ Śukra allows a man to dictate under all circumstances if he is aware of dharmasāstra: “The man who knows dharma can speak whether appointed or unappointed. He speaks the voice of God who knows the śāstra. What only one man says can even be law if he is spiritually minded.”¹⁰

Thus the knowledge of dharma is at least but culture of the highest type which is able to disclose the nature of ultimate reality. It depends on the “turning of the soul” in the language of Plato and this again is the pre-condition of the true philosopher. Truly “on the mind depends dharma and on the practice of dharma depends enlightenment.”¹¹ An intuition of this kind alone can reveal the true nature of righteousness.

(To be continued)

J. N. C. GANGULY

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| 1 Ibid., 264. | 2 Āpad-dharma Parva, 136. |
| 3 Ibid. | 4 Ibid., 132. |
| 5 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 33. | 6 Prajāgar Parva, 34. |
| 7 Āpad-dharma Parva, 160. | 8 Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā, I, 9. |
| 9 Parāśara Saṃhitā, VIII, 20. | 10 Śukranīti, pp. 185, 186. |
| 11 Ind. Phil., p. 423. | |

The Early Adventures of Guru Govind Singh

I. EARLY LIFE

Guru Govind Singh was born on the 7th bright lunar day of *Paus, Sambat*, 1723 (January, 1665 A.D.)¹ at Patna where Guru Tegh Bahadur had left his family when he accompanied Raja Ram Singh in his expedition against Assam². Of his early life there is not much to relate. In the *Vicitra Nāṭak* the Guru merely says that he was born at Patna and was afterwards taken to the *Madradēśa* where he received instructions in various forms and when he 'arrived at the age to perform his religious duties', his father departed to the other world.³ The other Sikh records, however, give us many details but these are not of much historical value. Even when a mere child the Guru is said to have shown unmistakable signs of future greatness and his grandmother Nānakī is said to have declared on one occasion that the boy would follow in the footsteps of his grandfather Hargovind and become a great warrior. The favourite game of the child, Govind Rai, was to divide his companions into two opposing camps, representing the Sikhs and the Muhammadans respectively and it is said that invariably the latter were worsted. Though still a child, Govind Rai is said to have daily practised the use of arms. The Sikhs claim that he soon became a great favourite at Patna and that when he left for the Punjab, whole Patna wept as did Ayodhyā on the exile of Rāma.

How long Govind Rai remained at Patna we do not definitely know. Some time after the birth of his son, Guru Tegh Bahadur joined his family at Patna and after 'a protracted residence there turned his thoughts towards the Punjab.' The Guru then started

1 Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol iv, p. 358 ; Gur Bilas, iii, 45 ; see also, Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, vol. i. p. 84. f. n.

2 Mr. Gurbux Singh disputes this on chronological grounds and I think that there is force in what he says. But his suggestion that it was perhaps Subul Singh Sesodia whom Guru Tegh Bahadur accompanied has, as yet, no evidence to support it (*Dacca Review*, 1915, p. 229, f. n.).

3 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, vii.

for his native land alone, leaving instructions to his family to join him there as soon as he would send for them, apparently because he was dubious as regards the nature of the reception he was likely to get there. It seems, however, that it was not long before Tegh Bahadur sent for his family and Govind Rai immediately started for the *Madraḍṣa*. The Sikhs relate that throughout the journey wherever the young Guru halted, 'crowds came with offerings to him.' Govind Rai soon reached Lucknow, via Benares and Ayodhyā. At the Oudh capital 'they were all hospitably entertained by Baba Fateh Chand, to whom the party gave a letter of thanks for his hospitality—a letter still preserved by the Sikh Mahant of that city'¹. Govind Rai then proceeded to Lakhnaur, 'a town about nine miles from Ambala in the Punjab', and here he seems to have halted for some time. While at Lakhnaur Govind Rai's favourite amusement is said to have been playing at mimic warfare. 'He used to form the boys of the town into opposing armies and engage them in sham fights and martial exercises.' On other occasions, he would divide his companions into two parties and play the game of splash-water. He also received regular education in various forms² and the Sikh records suggest that already the future Guru Govind Singh was in the making.

It seems that Govind Rai reached his father's place shortly before Guru Tegh Bahadur was summoned to Delhi by the Emperor Aurangzib. The story of Guru Tegh Bahadur's subsequent execution must be told elsewhere and we would forthwith begin with Govind Rai's accession to the *gadi* of his father. The young Guru's first important act was the performance of the obsequies of his father. We are told that immediately after Guru Tegh Bahadur's execution 'a great storm arose which filled every one's eye with much dust.' A devoted Sikh, who was present on the spot and into whose lap the severed head of the Guru is said to have fallen, took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the storm and succeeded in taking the head over to Govind Rai who cremated it with due ceremony.³

What followed immediately is not very clear. The Sikhs state that although a mere boy, the Guru soon revived the policy of his grandfather. We are told that 'the Guru delighted to wear uniforms

1 Macauliffe, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 366.

2 *Gur Bilas*, iv, 34, 35.

3 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 387. The story, however, is highly improbable.

and arms, and practise and induce others to practise archery and musket-shooting.' He soon collected an army and constructed a big drum to complete his equipment. And like his grandfather Guru Hargovind, 'he caused it to be publicly known that he would be grateful to all who brought him arms and horses' and we are told that his appeal met with a ready response. It thus appears that the policy of armed resistance, which had been almost wholly abandoned by the successors of Guru Hargovind, again became predominant under Guru Govind Singh. It seems that for some time the Guru peacefully continued to stay on at his father's place. His first marriage with Jito was celebrated with great pomp in 1677 and the second with Sundari followed soon after. But the Sikhs state that suddenly quarrel broke out with Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore and the Guru accepted the invitation of the Raja of Nahan and retired to Paunta.

II. RETIREMENT TO NAHAN AND THE BATTLE OF BHANGANI

In the *Vicitra Nāṭak* the Guru informs us that when he obtained sovereignty he promoted religion to the best of his ability. But afterwards he left *that country* and proceeded to the city of Paunta, where he enjoyed himself on the bank of the Kalindri (Jumna) in amusements of various kinds, particularly in hunting various sorts of game in the forest. But Fateh Shah, the king, became angry with him and came to blows with him without any reason.¹ This is all that the Guru tells us of his retirement to Nahan and the circumstances that brought about the battle of Bhangani.

Evidently there are gaps in this scrappy account and we would forthwith proceed to fill them in with the aid of the more detailed Sikh records. These latter almost unanimously tell us that after his father's death the Guru continued to stay at Makhawal. He soon collected an army and busily strengthened his resources when suddenly quarrel broke out with Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore. We are told that Raja Bhim Chand became very eager to dispossess the Guru of some valuable presents from his **disciples**, a trained elephant and a magnificent tent being among **others**. Their relations became more and more strained and at last both resolved to appeal to arms. At this crisis an invitation came from the Raja of Nahan, and the Sikh party opposed to war, mostly composed of *masands*, who had succeeded in convincing the Guru's mother and grandmother of the inexpediency

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 1—3.

of an immediate war with Bhim Chand, persuaded the Guru to accept the invitation and leave Makhawal alone for some time.

But it appears that the root of the matter went even deeper. Guru Govind Singh was becoming a menace to the integrity of Bhim Chand's dominions. The beating of a drum was regarded as a symbol of sovereignty in those days. The Guru, it is stated, had constructed a big drum and beat it regularly at Makhawal. The Guru's followers, again and again, ravaged the villages of the Raja and took contributions from the villagers by force. Therefore it is no wonder that Bhim Chand became somewhat nervous and consulted some of his brother chieftains, Raja Kripal of Katoch among others, as to the course he should pursue. It was decided that the question should be finally settled as soon as the impending marriage of Bhim Chand's son with the daughter of Fateh Shah of Srinagore was over and Fateh Shah himself had been consulted about it. In the meantime the Guru had retired to Paunta and became a great friend of Fateh Shah by amicably settling the disputes between him and the Raja of Nahan. 'The Guru brought the two Rajas together in open court, caused them to embrace and promise eternal friendship.' Naturally, when the nuptials of Fateh Shah's daughter were celebrated soon after, the Guru sent rich presents through his Dewan, Nand Chand. But difficulties were immediately raised by Bhim Chand about the acceptance of the Guru's presents and he openly threatened his new relation that he would cut off all connections with him if he accepted presents from his declared enemy. Many of the Rajas had assembled at Srinagar on that occasion and they also seem to have supported Bhim Chand in his resolution. The social obligations to a daughter's father-in-law compelled Fateh Shah to cast all other considerations to the wind and when it was decided that the Guru should be immediately attacked, Fateh Shah was even constrained to take the lead of the allied army.

But there are obvious difficulties in the way of our accepting this story *in toto*. According to this view, the Guru's stay in Nahan territory must have been nominal, for he left Anandpur when the nuptials of Bhim Chand's son with the daughter of Fateh Shah were impending and he came back immediately after the battle of Bhangani, which was fought as soon as the wedding ceremony was over. The Sikh writers state that when the Guru had definitely refused to hand over the trained elephant to Bhim Chand, the latter asked a temporary loan of the animal for the occasion of his son's marriage. Thus it

would appear that even when Bhim Chand was making preparations to proceed to Srinagar to celebrate the nuptials of his son, the Guru was at Anandpur. From the Guru's own narrative as well as from the other Sikh records, we learn that he returned to Anandpur immediately after the battle of Bhangani. Therefore the Guru must have stayed in Nahan territory for a very short time. But the relics of the Guru's fort at Paunta and the Nahan tradition lead us to think that the Guru's stay there must have been somewhat prolonged. The Sirmur Gazetteer states that Guru Govind Singh lived at Paunta for about five years¹ and the Guru's own statement seems to indicate that he had not remained long at Makhawal after his father's death.

Indeed, it seems almost certain that there has been a confusion in the later Sikh records and possibly their ignorance of the real causes of the battle of Bhangani led them to make two things appear as cause and effect, which originally had no connection. The main cause of the Guru's retirement to Nahan might have been, as the Sikh records suggest, the enmity of Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore but that the same ill-will of Bhim Chand was solely responsible for bringing about the battle of Bhangani almost immediately afterwards, we find it difficult to accept. We have already pointed out that this would make the Guru's stay in Nahan purely nominal, while we have very good reasons to believe that he made a protracted residence at Paunta. Moreover, it is very important to notice that in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* the Guru informs us that immediately after the battle of Bhangani he went to Kahlur (Bilaspore) and there established the village of Anandapur.² 'Anandapur is situated close to Makhawal. The first name was given by Gobind to his own particular residence at Makhawal, as distinguished from the abode of his father, and it signified the place of happiness.'³ Taken literally, the Guru's words mean that it was only after the battle of Bhangani that Anandapur was established as his headquarters. Towards the beginning of the same section of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* the Guru says that he 'afterwards left that place for Paunta.'⁴ The place that the Guru left was very probably

1 *Sirmur Gazetteer*, p. 51. It is, however, stated on p. 112 that the Guru resided at Paunta for about three years. At any rate the Guru's stay must have been rather protracted.

2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 36.

3 Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, Garrett's edition, p. 77, fn. 1.

4 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 2.

Makhowal where his father had retired owing to the enmity of the Sodhi Khatris. If we regard Makhowal and Anandapur as identical, the Guru's statement may not be literally true but it clearly indicates that the Guru's earlier stay at Anandapur-Makhowal was purely nominal and that it was made the real centre of his activities after the battle of Bhangani.

It seems that inspite of its apparent confusion in some respects Forster's statement is the nearest approach to the truth of the matter. He says, "the intelligence of his father's death, and dread of a like fate, had induced him to fly from Patna whence he retired after a series of various adventures into the territory of Srinagnaghur" and "afterwards proceeded with his adherents to the Punjab, where he was hospitably received by a marauding Hindu chief of that quarter, who gave him the dependencies of Mackaval."¹ It is, no doubt, evident that the Guru could not have fled in the first instance from Patna because we learn from the *Vicitra Nāṭak* itself that the Guru had been brought to the Punjab before his father's death, but the rest of Forster's statement agrees, on the whole, very well with what we would get from a literal interpretation of the **Guru's own** words that it was only after the battle of Bhangani that he went to Kahlur and established the village of Anandpur. At the time of his father's death the Guru was a mere boy and as yet his resources were slender and scanty. The mighty Moghul Government had declared itself the open enemy of his faith and the first result of that open breach had been the execution of his father. It is also very probable that the Raja, in whose territories the Guru resided, also raised difficulties about his continuance there as it might involve him in troubles with the Government and the Guru thought it better to leave the place and retire further into the hills. There he lived in seclusion for several years but suddenly quarrel broke out with Fateh Shah of Srinagar. The Guru won the battle that followed but still perhaps he did not think it convenient to remain there any longer. In the meantime circumstances had changed in Kahlur. Bhim Chand was now meditating rebellion against the Government or had perhaps actually rebelled. At this crisis he was only too glad to welcome the Guru back to his territories. The Guru, in his turn, readily consented and coming to Kahlur founded the village of Anandapur, which henceforward became the centre of his activities.

1 Forster's *Travels*, p. 261.

What has been said above seems most in accordance with the probabilities of the case. At any rate, the evidence of the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, practically the only reliable authority on the point, supports this view more than any other. It is, no doubt, unsafe to place too much reliance on negative evidence but it is significant that the Guru nowhere mentions Bhim Chand in connection with the battle of Bhangani and it seems improbable that he would so readily return to Kahlur after the battle if, as the Sikh writers suggest, the Guru's original quarrel with Bhim Chand was the main or in fact the only reason that brought him into collision with Fateh Shah. Moreover, the story that the Guru passed the first twenty years of his pontificate in seclusion in the hills, although it has no evidence to support it or is indeed, in some respects, contrary to all evidence, certainly suggests that early in his career the Guru had passed several years in retirement and it seems to us that the story of this early retirement was mixed up with the Guru's temporary obscurity in the hills on the eve of his convening the assembly at Keshgarh and became the foundation of the myth that the Guru passed the first twenty years of his pontificate in seclusion in the hills.

We would now proceed direct to the battle of Bhangani. The Guru's own account does not help us much in understanding the causes of the conflict. As we have seen, he merely says that Fateh Shah came to blows with him *without any reason*. It has also been pointed out that the reason, which the various other Sikh records suggest, is hardly acceptable. We have thus practically no direct evidence to work upon. However, from the Guru's description of the battle it appears that some of the Hill Rajas had made an alliance against him. The chiefs of Dadhwar and Jaswal,¹ Gaji Chand of Chandel² and Rajas Gopal³ and Hari Chand⁴ fought on the side of Fateh Shah. *The Gur Bilas*⁵ and the *Panth Prakash*⁶ add the names of some other chiefs who joined Fateh Shah or at least participated in the consultations that preceded the battle. Thus it seems that, for some reason or other, the Guru had seriously alarmed the Hill chieftains. Cunningham says that the Guru "seems to have endeavoured to mix himself up with the affairs of the half-independent chiefs, and to obtain

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 20.

2 *Ibid.*, viii, 21.

3 *Ibid.*, viii, 11.

4 *Ibid.*, viii, 12, 13, 15, 21, 26, 29, 33.

5 *Gur Bilas*, vi, 96, 156.

6 *Panth Prakash*, xxiii, 16.

a commanding influence over them, so as by degrees to establish a virtual principality amid mountain fastnesses to serve as the basis of his operations against the Mughal government."¹ Though it is doubtful whether the views of the Guru had as yet advanced to this extent, there are indications in the Sikh records that he wanted to mix himself up with the affairs of the Hill Rajas.² But Govind's policy in the hills proved a conspicuous failure. The Kangara Hills are that portion of the Punjab which is most essentially Hindu. It has been said that 'one is almost tempted to believe that the type of Hindu society still found in this tract preserves an even more archaic organisation than anything described by Manu.'³ There had never been any long sustained Musalman domination and the Rajas who ruled over 'the most ancient principalities of Northern India' were naturally resentful of all external influence. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that the Rajas would look upon the Guru as an 'upstart.' Govind represented a faith which inculcated liberal ideas and many of his followers were Jats, whom the Rajputs looked down upon as persons of inferior breed. Thus political privilege, social exclusiveness and tribal pride, all combined to induce the Hill Rajas to present a united front against the Guru. This explains why Guru Govind Singh never succeeded in maintaining any lasting alliance with the Rajas and why Sikhism never made any headway in the hills. But it may not be improbable that the causes that brought about the Guru's conflict with Fateh Shah were more direct. The Guru's army was, as yet, something of a rabble and a Pathan commander in the Guru's pay is said to have observed, "the Guru's main dependence is on us. The rest of his army is a miscellaneous rabble who have never seen war, and will run away when they hear the first shot fired".⁴ This was certainly a misrepresentation of the Guru's resources as was finally demonstrated in the battle of Bhangani but that some at least had joined the Guru merely for the sake of booty and did not stand by him when the moment of trial came is clearly proved by Govind's own statement that after the establishment of Anandapur he drove out all those who did not join his ranks during the battle.⁵ Even after this, desertions at critical moments were by no means rare,⁶ and it thus appears that there

1 Cunningham, p. 77.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, pp. 7, 18.

3 *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, vol. i, p. 6.

4 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 30.

5 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 37, 38.

6 *Ibid.*, x, 1 ; xiii, 2.

was a party in the Guru's camp who cared little for his cause and who had joined him merely for the sake of personal profit. Perhaps these were the people who were primarily responsible for those repeated outrages on the hill subjects, of which we get many indications in the Sikh records.¹ Indeed, the marauding instinct was characteristic of the Jats, who preponderated the others among the Guru's followers and whom, it seems, the moderating influences of Sikhism had not yet completely chastened. Here we possibly get the clue to one of the reasons that might have inspired the combination against the Guru. And Fateh Shah, particularly, had perhaps a special cause of grievance. The Sikh records state that Medini Prakas of Nahan and Fateh Shah of Srinagar had been constantly engaged in border warfare but after his retirement to Paunta the Guru had brought the two Rajas together and amicably settled their disputes.² But it seems that the settlement had not been lasting and as the Guru had taken up his quarters at the south-eastern extremity of the Nahan dominion,³ perhaps nearest to the western boundaries of Fateh Shah's territories and as he was an intimate ally of the Raja of Nahan, it does not seem improbable that the Guru himself became somehow involved in these traditional boundary disputes between the two States. But it must be distinctly understood that all these are offered here as mere suggestions and that the original cause of the Guru's quarrel with Fateh Shah remains still obscure.

But as regards the battle itself we stand on surer ground. The Guru's own description might be animated and 'more calculated to inflame the courage of his followers than to convey correct information

1 *Ibid.*, ix, 24 ; Macauliffe, vol. v.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 18.

3 The Guru established his residence at Paunta, which is situated on the banks of the Jumna, twenty-six miles from Nahan. There is a *gurdwara* here and the ruins of the fort built by the Guru still exist. Some say that the name 'Paunta' is derived from the fact that the Guru first halted (fixed his *paw*-feet) here after his departure from Makhawal. The Sirmur Gazetteer, however, states that the Guru first halted at Toka, where the spot is marked by a *gurdwara* 'though it only consists of a small platform near a well.' Thence he was brought to Nahan by the Raja and afterwards proceeded to Paunta. (*Sirmur Gazetteer*, pp. 15, 51 ; Macauliffe, vol. v, pp. 16, 17 ; *Gur Bilas*, vi, 19-21).

of actual events,¹ still the main facts appear clearly enough. The opposing forces met on the field of Bhangani which stands about 6 miles distant from Paunta on the plain between the Jumna and the Giri, not far from the city of Rajpura on the Mans-suri (Mussoorie) road.² The battle commenced with great vehemence and immediately the five sons of Bibi Viro,³ the only daughter of Guru Hargovind, organised an attack, which was nobly backed up by the Brahmin Dayaram,⁴ Dewan Nand Chand, and the two Kripals, one, the Guru's uncle and the other, a *Udasi* mahant. The brunt of the attack seems to have fallen, in the first instance, on those Pathan mercenaries who had been in the Guru's pay but had mutinied and joined the Rajas just on the eve of the battle. We are told that of their four leaders, Hayat Khan, Najabet Khan, Bhikhan Khan and Kale Khan, the last alone remained true to the Guru 'with the troops of one hundred men of which he had been originally in command.'⁵ It appears that early in the battle Hayat Khan was killed by the mahant Kripal⁶ but the others fought on and the action continued with great determination on both sides. After some time Raja Gopal and Hari Chand⁷ became

1 Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 54.

2 Macauliffe, vol. v. p. 29; *Gur Bilas*, vi. 250, 251. The Sirmur Gazetteer (p. 15) states that both Hari Chand and Fateh Shah fell in the battle. "The Rānīs of both the fallen leaders became *satī*, and their eight tombs are still shown at Bhangani." We, however, learn from the Sikh records that Fateh Shah had fled when he found his cause hopeless. A *gurdwara* still commemorates the Guru's victory.

3 These were Sangu Shah, Jit Mal, Gopal Chand, Gangaram and Maheri Chand. The Guru is said to have called Sangu Shah by the name of Sri Shah because of his great military skill. Macauliffe (vol. v. p. 43) says that after his glorious death on the field of Bhangani the Guru changed his name to Shah Sangram (Lord of Battle). See also *Gur Bilas*, vi, 247.

4 He was a friend of the Guru's youth (Macauliffe, vol. v, p. 2).

5 Macauliffe, vol. v, pp. 30-33. The Guru, however, does not say anything about Kale Khan.

6 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 7.

7 Possibly Gopal is the same Raja Gopal of Guler who is the hero of the XIth section of the *Vicitra Nāṭak*. The *Gur Bilas* and

prominent in attack and for a time the Guru's prospects looked very dark.¹ At this crisis Jit Mal came to the rescue of his side. With his spear he struck Hari Chand, who fell down senseless and had to be carried off the field.² This seems to have immediately relieved the pressure and the Guru's party again became aggressive. The Pathan leaders maintained a determined resistance but the Rajas of Jaswar and Dadhwar, who had hitherto been fighting with zeal, left the field with all their troops and Gaji Chand of Chandel stood exhausted and

the Panth Prakas definitely connect the two (Gur Bilas, vi, 156; Panth Prakas, xxiii, 16.) The Sikh records state unanimously that Hari Chand was the Raja of Nalgarh (Handur), though in the Guru's account there appears nothing that would justify us in connecting him with Nalgarh. But that cannot mean much because the Guru's account is always scrappy and in some places hardly intelligible without the assistance of the more detailed Sikh records. The Guru generally describes him as the simple Hari Chand without the appellation of Raja and the only place where he hints that Hari Chand was a chief is verse 33. Says the Guru,—

Hari chand mare, su jodha latare,
Su Karor rayan, wahai kal ghayan.

Macauliffe translates "Karor rayan" as "the chief of Karori" (vol. v, p. 44.) but contradictorily makes Hari Chand 'the Raja of Handur' in his general biography of the Guru (vol. v, p. 41). But as we nowhere find it mentioned that a chief of Karori had anything to do with Guru Govind Singh, we think that Bhai Bishan Singh Gyani is right in interpreting 'Karor' as 'the owner of a crore' or a multi-millionaire, (annotated edition of the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, p. 211). Hari Chand then was a rich and powerful chief but there are difficulties in the way of our accepting the statement that he was the Raja of Handur. The Nalgarh Gazetteer states that an able and just ruler named Dharm Chand ruled in Nalgarh for no less than 83 years, from 1618 to 1701, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Himmat Chand (Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Nalgarh, p. 60). In the long list of kings we do not find the name, Hari Chand, mentioned even once. On the other hand, the Sikh records are all very positive in connecting Hari Chand with Nalgarh. We are, therefore, tempted to suggest that Hari Chand might have been a younger son, who had been sent by his father to assist Fateh Shah, the Raja himself being too old to attend personally.

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii, 11-13.

2 *Ibid.*, viii, 15.

perplexed.¹ A general rout of the allies was about to commence but at this juncture Hari Chand rose from his swoon and became immediately alive to the duties of a leader.² The allies again rallied and the last phase of the battle commenced. A great fight began between Sri Shah on the one hand, and Najabet Khan on the other, and many soldiers on both sides were killed. After some time both the leaders fell³ and the Guru, who had as yet taken no actual part in the fray, now personally undertook the direction of affairs.⁴ In his second attempt the Guru struck Bhikhan Khan in his face and the latter fled precipitately leaving his horse behind, which was immediately killed.⁵ Now began the great duel between the Guru and Hari Chand who fought with great skill and dash, and sent hundreds to the other world.⁶ Says the Guru, "Hari Chand, in his rage, drew forth his arrows. He struck my steed with one and then discharged another at me, but God preserved me and it only grazed my ear in its flight. His third arrow penetrated the buckle of my waist-belt and reached my body, but wounded me not. It is only God who protected me, knowing me His servant. When I felt the touch of the arrow, my anger was kindled. I took up my bow and began to discharge arrows in abundance. Upon this my adversaries began to flee. I took aim and killed the young chief, Hari Chand."⁷ The death of Hari Chand was the signal for a disorderly retreat⁸ on the part of the hillmen and the Guru's victory was complete.⁹

(To be continued)

INDU BHUSAN BANNERJI

1 Ibid., viii, 20, 21.

2 Ibid., viii, 21.

3 Ibid., viii, 23.

4 Ibid., viii, 24.

5 Ibid., viii, 25.

6 Ibid., viii, 26-28.

7 Vicitra Nāṭak, viii, 29-33. I have used Macauliffe's translation (vol. v, p. 44).

8 Ibid, viii, 34.

9 Dr. Narag states that 'Syed Budhoo Shah, the chief of Sadhawra at whose recommendation the Guru had taken the Afghans into his service, hearing of their desertion, hastened to the Guru's help with a force of two thousand men and with this timely aid the Guru obtained a complete victory over the allied Rajas' (Transformation of Sikhism, p. 90). The story is given in the Panth Prakaś (xxiii, 11, 16). It is stated Budhoo Shah sent two of his sons with one thousand soldiers. But as nothing of this occurs in the Vicitra Nāṭak or in the Gur Bilas we have not incorporated it in our account of the battle.

Indian Literature Abroad

V

In 581 Sui Dynasty came to power and the emperor at once gave the people permission to become monks, which had been withheld by Chou Wu-Ti. Towards the close of his reign he prohibited the destruction or maltreatment of the images of the Buddhist or Taoist sects. The Confucian literati were not pleased at the Emperor's tolerance and thought it to be due to weakness of age. It is said that the Buddhist books were at that time ten times more numerous than the Confucian classics. The Sui history, in the digest, it gives of all the books of the time, states that the Buddhist sect had as many as 1950 distinct works. Many of the titles are given, and among them are not a few treating of the mode of writing by alphabetic symbols used in the kingdoms whence Buddhism came. It is called *Si-yo-hu-shu* or "Foreign Writing of the Western Countries" and also *Po-la-men-shu*, or "Brahmanical Writing."

Buddhism re-
vived under the
Sui Emperors

The tables of initials and finals found in the Chinese native dictionaries were first formed in the third century, but more fully early in the sixth, in the Liang dynasty. It was then that the Hindus, who had come to China, assisted in forming according to the model of the Sanskrit alphabet, a system of thirty-six initial letters, and described the vocal organs by which they are formed. They also constructed tables, in which, by means of two sets of representative characters, one for the initials and another for the finals, a mode of spelling words was exhibited. The Chinese were now taught for the first time that monosyllabic sounds are divisible into parts, and alphabetic symbols were not adopted to write the separated elements. It was thought better to use characters already known to the people. A serious defect attended this method. The analysis was not carried far enough. The intelligent Chinese understand that a sound, such as 'man' can be divided into two parts, *m* and *an* ; for they have been long accustomed to the system of phonetic bisection here alluded to, but they usually refuse to believe that a trisection of the sound is practicable. At the same time the system was much easier to learn than if foreign symbols had been employed,

Influence of
Indian Phonetic
on Chinese.

and it was very soon universally adopted. Sheu-Kung, a priest, is said to have been the author of the system, and the dictionary *Yu-P'ian* was one of the biggest works in which it was employed. That the Indian Buddhists should have taught the Chinese how to write the sounds of this language by an artifice, which required nothing but their own hieroglyphics and rendered unnecessary the introduction of new symbols, is sufficient evidence of their ingenuity, and is not the least of the services they have done to the sons of Han. It well answered for several centuries, and was made use of in all dictionaries and educational works¹. In Northern part of China four tones and in Canton nine tones are attached to a sound. It is said that this was due to the introduction of study of Sanskrit phonetics among the Chinese.²

The Sui Rulers were great patrons of Buddhist learning. A Chinese mission had been sent to India between 575-581 A.D. When they came to west of China, they heard that the

Sui Emperors: Buddhists were persecuted by the Chou Emperors, so
 Patrons of they did not at once proceed home but stopped in the land
 Buddhism. of Turks. There they met Jinagupta, whose profound
 learning struck the envoys with admiration. They were all recalled
 by the new emperor. The mission brought a large number of
 Sanskrit texts from India. A competent Indian Paṇḍit was sought for
 to translate them into Chinese and Narendrayaśa, who has been already
 mentioned, was summoned to the capital Chang-an from his exile in
 582 A. D. He lived in the temple of Ta-hing-chan and began to trans-
 late the newly brought books. Some thirty Śramaṇas were asked
 to help in the work. With their assistance Narendrayaśa translated
 between 582-585 eight works in 28 fasciculi. He died in 589 A.D.
 His works were—*Sūrya-garbha Sūtra* (No. 62); *Mañjuśrī-Vikrādita*
Sūtra (No. 185); *Mahāmegha Sūtra* (No. 188)—a very popular book in
 China translated about six times by different writers; *Śrīgupta Sūtra*
 (No. 232); *Balavyūha-Samādhi Sūtra*, (No. 409); *Śata-buddhanāma*
Sūtra (No. 411); *Padmamukha(?) Sūtra* (No. 465); *Sthiradhī Sūtra*
 (No. 525).

1 Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 112-113.

2 These statements of Edkins are too general to be accepted by critical scholars; Maspero and other modern sinologues do not attach much importance to that theory.

The greatest name of this age was Jinagupta¹ who translated two books in the earlier part of the Northern Chou rule, but had to leave the country for Wu-ti's rage. He like Narendrayaśas came back during the rule of the Sui dynasty and worked from 585-592 A. D. According to some compilers he wrote 39 books in 192 fasciculi of which 36 are found in the Ming catalogue.

I have already referred to the enthusiasm of the emperor for Buddhism; the method he adopted for a faithful translation in good idiomatic Chinese was doubtless commendable. He appointed a board of monks to undertake the work of translating the Sanskrit books brought from India by the last mission. The first board was presided over by the Indian monk Narendrayaśas. After the board had accomplished some works a few monks of Ta-hing-Chan temple found out some divergences and contradictions in the translations. They thought that a better qualified man should be put in charge of this responsible work and their choice fell on Jinagupta, who was still in exile. The emperor sent a special invitation and recalled him. A new board was constituted with Jinagupta as president for the translation of the rest of the texts. Jinagupta was asked to translate the Sanskrit texts with another Indian monk Dharmagupta and two Chinese śramaṇas.

Over this board ten other śramaṇas were appointed to supervise the translation and to see that the original sense was preserved. To revise these works and to make the style perfect, two other Chinese śramaṇas were appointed. This innovation in the method of translation greatly improved the style of Chinese and we find Jinagupta and his colleagues translating many popular books, which had already been done into Chinese. Jinagupta's books were mainly from *Sūtra literature*.

One of his greatest works was the *Abhinīṣkramaṇa Sūtra* in 60 fasc. (Nanjio, 680) which in Chinese literally means 'Buddha-pūrva-kārya-saṃgraha-sūtra.' An English translation, in abstract form, of this book has been published by Beal entitled the *Romantic History of Buddha*.

Another important work of Jinagupta and Dharmagupta was the

¹ Chavannes,—Jinagupta, *Young Pao*, 1905; also Nanjio, App. II, 129.

translation of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (Nanjio, 139). There is an interesting preface to this work by one who seems to have taken part in the translation, and I believe, by one of the chief editors of the translation board mentioned above. He writes, "the translations of Chu-Fa-hu or Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva are most probably made from two different texts." In the repository of the Canon in the temple of Ta-hing-Chan there were two copies of the text of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, one written on the palm leaves and probably in the then Nāgarī character of Northern India, while the other was written in the scripts of Karashar or Tukhāra i. e., Brāhmī. Kumārajīva followed the latter text as he was a man of that region (Nanjio, 134). The editor, in 601 A. D., together with Jinagupta and Dharmagupta, examined the two palm leaf texts and carefully collated the differences in the text. This is a later translation of Dharmarakṣa's and Kumārajīva's translations. (Nanjio, 134, 135).

The *Gayaśīrṣa-Sūtra* and the *Mahāyāna Vaipulya-Dhūraṇī-Sūtra* were translated by Vinītaruci, a śramaṇa of Udyāna in 582 A. D. The last writer of this period was Dharmagupta, who assisted Jinagupta in translation. Dharmagupta was a native of Southern India, and had gone to China through the North-western passage. He translated several works between 530 and 616 A.D. Opinions greatly differ as to the number of works he translated. Some say seven works, others nine, while one compiler mentions eighteen works in 81 fasciculi; but we have only ten in the Ming Tripiṭaka. His principal works are the translations of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, and its commentary the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra-śāstra*, by Bodhisattva Asaṅga. He also translated fasciculi 21-30 of the commentary on Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna Samparigraha śāstra* by Vasubandhu.

During the short rule of thirty-seven years of the Sui emperors, six translators translated 60 books in 265 fasciculi, a fact which really testifies to the encouragement obtained under these princes. Under them three catalogues of Indian books in Chinese were compiled in A. D. 594, 597 and 603. All of these catalogues have come down to this time. The *Li-tai-san-pao-chi*¹ (Record concerning the three precious things, Triratna, under successive dynasties) was compiled by Fa-chan-fang in 597 A. D., in

Catalogues of
Indian books.

¹ Nanjio, 1504; Intro., p. xvii.

15 fasciculi. The first three fasciculi contain a general history of Buddhism, from the birth of Buddha to the time of the compilation of this work. The last fasciculus contains an index or a detailed list of the works. This catalogue contained 1076 works in 3,325 fasciculi of which 551 books belonged to Mahāyāna and 325 to Hīnayāna. The Canon was divided into Mahāyāna Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma, and Hīnayāna Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. Books on Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are almost equally represented in China ; most of these Hīnayāna books were written in Sanskrit and it is a misconception of most people that Hīnayāna books were all written in Pāli. It is only the Theravāda, which has a Tipiṭaka written in Pāli, while almost all the other sects had Tripiṭaka written in semi-Sanskrit language, most of which have disappeared.

The *Sui-chung-ching-mu-lu* (Nanjio, 1608) is another catalogue of Buddhist sacred books collected under the Sui dynasty by the priests and literati in A. D. 603, who were appointed by the emperor Wan-ti. The total number of books in this catalogue is 2,109 in 5,058 fasciculi ; unfortunately 420 works in 747 fasciculi had been already lost. There were in this collection 370 books with one translation and 277 works had more than one translation.

The third catalogue (Nanjio, 1609) was compiled by Fa-Ching and others under imperial orders in 594 A. D. In it 2,257 distinct works in 5,310 fasciculi are mentioned. They classified the books into Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma for Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna separately and under the fourth heading put as 'Later works, Indian and Chinese'—being extracts, records and treatises, which do not fall under the three or rather six divisions.

Nanjio speaks of another catalogue which is recorded in the Sui annals. "In the period Ta-yeh (A.D. 605-616) emperor Yang ordered the Shaman Chi-Kuo to compile a catalogue of the Buddhist books at the Imperial Buddhist chapel within the gate of the palace. He then made some divisions and classifications, which were as follows :—Sūtras, which contained what Buddha had spoken, were arranged under three divisions—(1) Mahāyāna, (2) Hīnayāna, (3) Mixed Sūtras ; other books, that seemed to be the production of later men, who falsely ascribed their works to greater names, were classed as Doubtful Books."

"There were Vinaya works under each division as before, Mahāyāna, Hīnayāna and Mixed. There were other works in which Bodhisattvas

and others went deeply into the explanation of the meaning, and which illustrate the principles of Buddha. These were called Disquisitions or Śāstras."

"There were also records or accounts of the doings in their times of those who had been students of the system. Altogether there were 77 classes under which the books were arranged.' (Intro. xix). There were 1962 books in 6198 fasciculi. But neither the catalogue nor the compiler is mentioned in Chinese Buddhist works. The number of books is again different from that mentioned in the earlier catalogue in existence. This may however be called the fifth collection made by an emperor of China (Intro. p. xix).

Now we enter into the most brilliant epoch of Chinese history, viz., the T'ang and Sung Dynasties. The T'ang dynasty lasted from 628 to 907 A. D. i.e. about three hundred years. During these three hundred years, we cannot expect from our previous knowledge of history that the attitude of all the emperors towards Buddhism should be uniform. Indeed its career was chequered during its long life. Buddhism succeeded in establishing itself as a faith of the majority among both Tartars and Chinese. Still there was a triangular war between the religions of Kung-fu-tzu (Confucius), Buddha and Lao-tzu. The opposition of the Mandarins and the Literati, who were generally Confucianists, some times caused great havoc to Buddhist culture and set back the progress made in one generation. Still the Buddhist and the Taoist made themselves felt in public life and estimation by their knowledge and character, and during the Sui and T'ang and the last half century of the Northern Sung dynasties their books were accepted as texts for the public examinations (Biot, *Histoire de l'instruction publique en chine*, pp. 289, 313). During the reign of the first emperor of the T'ang, magistrates were ordered to enquire into the lives of Buddhist monks and nuns, as a result of a memorial from the Confucianist blaming on their character. Those found guilty were ordered to return to the world. The second emperor allowed every monastery to receive five new monks and showed great favour to Buddhism.

Buddhism under
the T'ang
Dynasty.

It was during the rule of the Second T'ang emperor that the great Chinese savant and traveller Hiuen Tsang flourished. The great

Harṣavardhana's
mission in
China and Chi-
nese mission in
India.

Indian emperor Harṣavardhana sent an envoy to China in 641 A. D. and two Chinese missions were despatched in return. During the rule of the empress dowager Wu Hou, Buddhism found favour with her. Even she went to the length of getting divine honours and called herself Ku-an-Yin. But in the earlier part of the next reign reaction set in, and building of monasteries, making of images and copying of sūtras were forbidden ; 12,000 monks were ordered to return to the world. But in later life the same emperor became a devout Buddhist and one of the most important Tripiṭaka collection was done under his auspices in A.D. 730. Many Buddhist poets and artists of this period have won immortal fame. In 740 there were in the city of Chang-an alone 64 monasteries and 27 nunneries. During the eighth and ninth centuries of T'ang rule, the emperors with one exception Wu-Tsung, (841-847), were favourable to Buddhism and the latter half of the 8th century marked in Buddhist history not only an epoch of increased popularity among the masses but also the spread of ritualistic and doctrinal corruption, for it is in those years that its connection with ceremonies for the repose and honour of the dead became more intimate (Elliot, III, p. 262). In 845 Wu-Tsung had ordered that 4,600 great temples and 40,000 smaller rural temples be demolished, that 2,60,500 monks and nuns be secularized and 1,50,000 temple servants set free. These figures, which might be exaggerated, still show the great influence and strength of Buddhism.

The T'ang dynasty collapsed in 907 A. D. owing chiefly to the incapacity of the later-day emperors. It was followed by a troubled

period in which five short dynasties ruled in quick succession ruling 53 years in all. In 960 the Sung dynasty united China, of which we shall hear later on.

For the spread of Indian literature in China during these three hundred years, our record is most useful. About 27 monks flourished and translated more than 380 Sanskrit books into Chinese. The earliest books that were translated during this dynasty were *Ratna-tūṛī-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, (No. 82), *Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra-kārikā* (No. 1185)¹ and *Sūtrālaṅkāra-tīkā* (No. 1190). The second book

1 Walleser translated its Tibetan version called *Akutoḥhaya Sūtra* of Nāgārjuna.

'Prajñā-pradīpa-śāstra' (Nanjio, 1185) was composed by Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna and a Vṛtti or explanation of the 500 verses was written by Nirdeśaprabha. This is the principal work of the Madhyamaka school founded by Nāgārjuna. Another very important work was 'Sūtrālaṅkāra Sūtra' which had been composed by the great Āśvaghoṣa, no less an authority on Mahāyāna than the Bodhisattva Asaṅga, who wrote a commentary on it. The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* text, as we know, had been translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 405 A.D. in 15 fasc. But its *ṭīkā* which was equally important waited for an able pen to be rendered into a flowery language. Prabhākaramitra. These books were translated by Prabhākaramitra, a monk of Central India, Kṣatriya by caste. He arrived in 627 A.D. in China, and translated these works. He died at the 69th year in 633 A. D. which shows that he left his Indian home at an advanced age.

The greatest scholar of Chinese Buddhism was Hiuen Tsang,¹ who came to India in the seventh century. This illustrious pilgrim was born in the year 603 A.D. at Ch'in Liu in the province of Honan, close to the provincial city. At an early age he was taken by his second elder brother to the eastern capital Loyang. He was made a śrāmaṇera at his thirteenth year. On account of the troubles which occurred at the end of the Sui dynasty, Hiuen Tsang in company with his brother sought refuge in the city of Shing-tu ordained as a bhikṣu. After some time he began to travel through the provinces in search of the best instructor he could get, and so came at length to Chang-an. It was here, stirred up by the recollection of Fa-hsien and Chi-yen, that he made up his mind to go to the western regions to question the sages on points that troubled his mind. When Hiuen Tsang, at his twenty-sixth year, "expressed his desire to visit India, there seem to have been some willing to accompany him in his journey, but when he came near to the desert he had only two companions, of whom one was sent back to China as he was thought unfit for the hardships of the journey, while the other started in advance to Tun-hwang and was heard of no more. Finally, when he took leave of his patron, the king of Turfan, four novices were allotted to him as his attendants. The king helped him with brotherly care and introduced

Hiuen Tsang :
His life.

¹ Seven different ways of spelling the name have been discussed by Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 629-645, 2 vols, London, 1904-1905, I, p. 17.

him to many of the Central Asian chieftains ; consequently he was welcomed everywhere and travelled with great facility. In India too, he was patronized by king Harṣa of Kanauj and had opportunities of meeting many worthies and savants of his time. At Nālandā, the then centre of the Mahāyāna learning, he found an able teacher in Śīlabhadra, the president of this University, and there he spent several years learning Sanskrit and chiefly Buddhist Idealism. The interest of the Buddhists of his time seems to have centred in the Mahāyāna, though the Hīnayāniic schools too were followed in all India."¹

He set out for India in 629 A.D., and returned after sixteen years in 645 A. D. He brought back with him :

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Treasures and
books from India. | 1. Five hundred grains of relics belonging to the body of Tathāgata. |
| | 2. A golden statue of Buddha 3ft. 3 inches in height on a transparent pedestal. |
| | 3. A statue of Buddha 3 ft. 5 inches carved out of a sandal-wood on a transparent pedestal. |
| | 4. Another statue like above. |
| | 5. A silver statue on a transparent pedestal. |
| | 6. A golden statue do. |
| | 7. Another sandal-wood figure of Buddha. |
| | 8. 124 works (sūtras) of the Mahāyāna. |
| | 9. Other works amounting in the whole to 520 fasc., (657 fasc., Edkins, p. 119) carried by 22 horses. (Beal, Introduction to Si-Yu-ki). |

He was not satisfied with Mahāyāna books only but took great pains to collect books of various schools on Vinaya and Abhidharma :

Sarvāstivāda School	15 works.
Sāṃmitiya School	15 "
Mahīśāsaka School	22 "
Kāśyapiya School	17 "
Dharmagupta School	42 "
Mūla-sarvāstivāda School	67 "

When Hiuen-Tsang returned from India, he was received by the emperor with great honour, and a title was conferred on him. The emperor took keen interest in the pilgrim and commanded him to write a description of the Western countries he had visited and the immortal work called *Ta-t'ang-hsi-yu-ki* (Nanjio, 1503) was the result.

The emperor wrote a laudatory preface to this book. The record of the great traveller is handed down to us in three forms.

The first is of course his own work, *Hsi-yü-chi* (Nanjio, 1503) (Record of the Western Region), in 20 fasciculi, compiled by Pien-chi, his pupil, 646 A.D., The travels cover 138 countries in all, of which he himself visited 110 and he gathered news about the rest from his informants, as we are told in an introduction by Ching-po. The characters and usages of the people and the state of Buddhist learning and practices are minutely described. The book is unique and indispensable for the study of Indian history and geography of the Buddhist period. In 1857 Stanislas Julien published the French translation with the title *Memoires sur les contrées occidentales traduits du Sanscrit en chinois, en l'an 648 par Hiouen tshang et du chinois en francais*. An English translation by Samuel Beal followed in 1884 with the title of *Si-yu-ki*, Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen-Tsang, 2 vols. (London).

The second work is a résumé of Hiuen Tsang's Travels in the *Record of the Region of the Sākya* in 8 books by Tao-hsüan (Nanjio, 1470). It is interesting to note that the author was Hiuen Tsang's pupil and one of his assistant translators, and that the work was compiled during Hiuen Tsang's life-time, i.e. A.D. 650.

There seems to have been another work in 10 books entitled *Hsi-yü-chüan*, (Record of the Western Region), by Yen-ts'ung, another pupil of the traveller. This record, it is said, treated more of the Indian life than the religion itself, whereas the traveller's *Memoires* paid more attention to the religion than the life. Tao-hsü-an says in his preface that both of these were too minute and copious for general information and that this very fact led him to a fresh compilation of his own work. No European translation of it has as yet appeared.

The third is a curtailed form of the *Memoires* given in the life of Hiuen Tsang in 10 books compiled by Hui-li and annotated by Yen-ts'ung, A. D. 665. Julien published it at the same time as the *Memoires* in an abstract form under the title *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Tshang et ses voyages dans l'Inde*, 629-645, (Paris, 1853), and Beal has also given an English translation.

So far as Hiuen Tsang's routes and geographical names are concerned, Thomas Watters, a great Chinese scholar, did a great deal, and the result of his studies was published in 1904-05 by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell with the title *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*

in *India*, 629-645, by Thomas Watters. His researches are accurate as usual, and, if he could have made more use of the results of the Indian and Central Asian excavations and several old mss. of the record discovered in Japan, nothing would remain to be desired.

Hiuen Tsang's record can be divided roughly into five parts : (1) a general introduction to Jambudvīpa and a description of Central Asian countries along the northern route ; (2) a detailed Hsi-yu-chi. introduction to India (name, geography, calendar, life, language, customs, religion, castes, products, etc.) and a description of countries in the Panjab and to the north of the Gaṅgā as far down as the valley of the Gaṇḍakī ; (3) a detailed description of Magadha including Nālandā ; (4) the lower region of the Gaṅgā, countries on the South sea-coast, in the Dekkan and on the lower Indus ; (5) Central Asian states along the southern route. A résumé of the contents can be obtained best from Watters' work which gives the travels in their shortest possible form. Further a lengthy note on the itinerary was added by Vincent. A. Smith at the end of the work.¹

The influence of this book on the Chinese mind must have been immense ; such a detailed and first-hand knowledge of In-to (India) had never reached them before.

Hiuen Tsang went to Chang-an to translate the treasure he had brought from India and he was helped by twelve monks to carry out his object in practice. A board of nine monks was appointed to revise the composition. Some who learned Sanskrit joined him in the work. On presenting a series of translations to the emperor, he wrote a preface to them ; and at the request of Hiuen Tsang he issued an edict to the effect that five new monks should be received in every monastery in the empire. The convents then amounted to 3716. For nineteen years the Chinese savant worked incessantly with his group of helpers and at the close of his life he found that he had translated 75 works in 1335 fasciculi. Hiuen Tsang died at the 65th year in 664 A.D., honoured by all and mourned by all.

The most stupendous work that took him four years to translate was the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* (Nanjio, I, Tok. Ed. ii, iii, iv), which had partly been translated and abridged by Kumārajīva two centuries and a half before him. It consisted of 600 Prajñāpāramitā. fasciculi, 2,00,000 ślokas or an equivalent number of syllables in prose. This is a collection of sixteen sūtras, short and

1 Takakusu, E.R.E., vol. 12, pp. 841-842.

long. To each of them a preface is added by a Chinese priest, Hiuen Tson, a contemporary of the pilgrim. The *Prajñā-pāramitā* treats of six perfections (pāramitās) of a Bodhisattva, and particularly of the *prajñā* or wisdom of the supreme excellence. The meaningless custom of embodying constant repetitions, which we find so annoying in the Pāli suttas, becomes in the voluminous *Prajñāpāramitā* so limitless and excessive that it would be quite possible to strike out more than half of this colossal work. Kumārajīva very intelligently omitted these repetitions and superfluities. But Hiuen Tsang most faithfully followed the Sanskrit text and translated one hundred and twenty volumes entire, in all their wearisome re-iteration of metaphysical paradoxes.¹

Hiuen Tsang translated the Abhidharma books of different schools ; and the Sarvāstivāda literature has been almost entirely preserved by him in translation ; and before we deal with his other works we shall treat a little in detail about this school. This school of thought is one of the oldest among the eighteen schools which are described in Vasu-mitra's *Aṣṭādaśa-nikāya-śāstra* also called '*Samayabhedaparanacakra*' (No. 1284), or the Śāstra on the differences of the views of (18 or 20 Hīnayāna) schools translated by Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsang. This school probably separated from the Theravāda before the Buddhist

The Sarvāsti-
vāda School.

Council held during king Aśoka's reign. The principal seat of the Sarvāstivādins was Kashmir, where their doctrine developed into an elaborate system known as the Vaibhāṣika. Fa-hsien (399-414) says that this school was followed in Pāṭaliputra as well as in China at his time. Vasubandhu criticised the Kashmir Vaibhāṣikas where they became powerful (499-569). Hiuen Tsang found them in Kashgar, N. W. India and the Northern India. I-tsing (671-695) gives a fairly minute description of this school, and the places of its popularity enumerated by him are the following :—Magadha, Gujrat, Sindhu, East India, South India with a few followers, Sumatra, Java where it largely prevailed, Campa, Cochinchina, parts of China, and Central Asia. From this short account we can see that this school spread throughout the Buddhist world. I-tsing says that this school had a separate Tripiṭaka amounting to 300,000 ślokas (Records : Introduction). The vast literature which has come down to us in Chinese shows quite clearly that this school had a separate Vinaya translated by I-tsing and a separate

¹ Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*.

Abhidharma partly rendered into Chinese by Paramārtha and largely by the great Hiuen Tsang.

In Chinese, Sarvāstivāda is known as Sa-pa-to. They had seven Abhidharma books. The principal works of the school is Kātyāyaṇīputra's *Jñānaprasthāna*.

Kātyāyaṇīputra was named after his mother Kātyāyaṇī. He must have been an inhabitant of the plains of India, whence he went to Kipin or Kashmir. He wanted to edit an Encyclopaedia of Abhidharma and proclaimed to all, far and near, "If there be any who formerly heard the Abhidharma propounded by the Buddha, let him communicate what he knows whether it be much or little." Several contributions extensive and short came; about 500 Arhats or men of superior powers and 500 Bodhisattvas or neophytes helped Kātyāyaṇīputra in collecting these sayings scattered throughout Northern India. He, as the chief editor, made a selection from the principles thus collected. When the principles did not contradict the Sūtra and Vinaya, they asserted and registered them, and rejected all those which conflicted with these authorities. The compilation thus made were grouped together according to their principles; those illustrating *Prajñā* were collected in the *Prajñā-grantha*, those expounding the principle of meditation in the Book of Meditation or *Dhyāna-grantha*, and so with the remaining six groups. The eight books amounted to 50,000 ślokas.¹ To this original book, there were six supplements called 'Pāda,' the latter standing to the former in some such relation as that of six Vedāṅgas to the Veda.²

The seven Abhidharma-books are the following: 1. Kātyāyaṇīputra's *Jñānaprasthāna* (Nanjio, 1275, 20 fasc., 8 khaṇḍas, 44 chapters), said to have been composed 300 years after the death of Buddha.

Jñānaprasthāna. It is considered as the principal work of this school and was first rendered into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadeva and others in A.D. 383. It must have been well spread in China before the end of that century as Fa-hsien knows of the existence of the Sarvāstivādins in China. This book had two names: *Aṣṭa-grantha* used by Saṅgha-

1 The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha, translated by J. Takakusu, *Young Pao*, 1904, pp. 269-295.

2 The following account of the Sarvāstivāda literature is abridged from an article by J. Takakusu in the Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1904-1905, pp. 64-146.

deva, and *Jñānaprasthūna* by Hiuen Tsang. These two are translations from one and the same text ; though the originals seem to have had variant readings here and there, the translations do not present any material differences in general scope. The original Sanskrit text, which is lost to us, consisted of 15,072 ślokas and in Chinese translation there are 195,250 words in 8 divisions and 44 chapters. Hiuen Tsang states that Kātyāyaṇīputra lived in the monastery of Tamasāvāna in Chinapati (N. India), three hundred years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa. The editor of the *Chi-yuen-lu* Catalogue (13th cent.) writes, "the Abhidharma-piṭaka is not one and the same in all schools. Now according to the method of the Sarvāstivāda school we place the original work 'body' (kāya) first, and the supplementary works, 'feet' (pāda) next. The branches thereof, the Vibhāṣā, and the title are placed last. Those of the other schools come next in order."

The *Saṅgīti-paryāya* (Nanjio, 1276, 20 fasc., 12 chap. (*Chi-i-men-tsu-lun*) is the first of the six (pāda) supplements to the above work translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang. It was composed by Mahā-kausthila. Both Sāriputra and Mahā-kausthila were immediate disciples of the Buddha, and it is doubtful if either of them was the author of this. The legendary portion of this work says that Sāriputra, advised and inspired by the Buddha himself, collected the more important Dharmas taught by the Master, convened his friends and rehearsed (saṅgīta) the laws. This, he thought, would prevent any dissension in the future when there was no Buddha. Takakusu observes that the work was probably compiled by a Mahā-kausthila at a time after the council of Vaiśālī, which was held chiefly for suppressing the ten theses of the Vajjian bhikṣus, and later on it might have come to be ascribed to Sāriputra, because he is the hero of the narrative throughout the work. The Chinese version *Chi-i-men-tsu-lun* translated by Hiuen Tsang is in 20 fasciculi, 12 vargas or chapters.

The *Prakarāṇa-pāda* (Nanjio, 1277, 18 fasc., 8 sections) is the second of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins according to the Chinese authorities. There exist in Chinese two translations of it which seem to have been made from one and the same recension of the text. The first of these translators was Guṇabhadra who did it with the help of Bodhiyaśas in 435-443 A.D. The second one was by Hiuen Tsang, who tells us that this work was composed by Vasumitra in a monastery at Puskalavati.

1. Saṅgīti-
paryāya.

2. Prakaraṇa-
pāda.

The third of the six pāda treatises of this school is *Vijñāna-kāya-pāda* (Nanjio, 1281, 16 fasc. 6 books) of Devaśarman who, according to its translator Hiuen Tsang, was a native of Viśoka near Śrāvastī and is alleged to have attained nirvāṇa 100 years after Buddha. It was done into Chinese in 649 A.D.

3. *Vijñāna-kāya-pāda.*

Of this series Vasumitra's *Dhātu-kāya* (Nanjio, 1282, 2 fasciculi, 2 chapters) was the fourth of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins.

It was also rendered into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang in A.D. 663. According to Yaśomitra, the author of the Sanskrit original was Puṇa. The original Sanskrit text seems to have existed in two or three versions. The larger text was of 6000 ślokas, whereas the other, middle and smaller ones, were of 900 ślokas respectively. The text which was translated by Hiuen Tsang was of 830 ślokas and was apparently the middle one. It treats of all mental faculties which this school assumes as separate elements called 'Dhātu.' We get the particulars about the Chinese translation from K'uei-chi, a pupil of Hiuen Tsang.

4. *Dhātu-kāya*

The *Dharma-skandha* (Nanjio, 1296, 12 fasc., 21 chap.) is the fifth of the six pādas of the Sarvāstivāda school. According to the Chinese authorities Maudgalyāyana is the author of the book ; but Yasomitra says that Sāriputra was its composer.

5. *Dharma-skandha.*

Whoever might be its writer, the book, though placed among the supplementary pādas, is not inferior in its matter and form to *Jñānaprasthāna*, the principal work of this school. Perhaps it does not go so much into details of metaphysical questions as the latter does, but it treats of all important points of the fundamental principles of this school, and the importance of this work seems to have been recognised by the writers of the other pādas. In a colophon to this work Ching-mai wrote in 664 A.D. that *Dharma-skandha* is the most important of the Abhidharma books, and the fountain-head of the Sarvāstivāda system. Hiuen Tsang translated it (659 A.D.) in Chang-an ; Shi-kuang took notes and Ching-mai put it into literary form, and Chin-tung made a final revision.

The Sarvāstivāda owes a great deal to Hiuen Tsang for its propagation in China' and India owes as much to that great monk

for his faithful translation, as the original texts of all these books are lost to us. The last or sixth of the six pādas, *Prajñāpti-śāstra*, was not translated by Hiuen

6. *Prajñāpti-pāda-śāstra.*

Tsang still I think I should better put it here. The authorship of this book is as doubtful as most other ancient books. But Mahā-

Maudgalyāyana is accepted as the writer of this book. This work is of doubtful character, as it was not translated before the eleventh century (1004-1058) by Fa-lu (Dharma-rakṣa) and its author's name is lost.

(*To be continued*)

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

Two Coins from Cāchār

Two round-sized debased silver coins were found in the month of May, 1925 at the village of Topkhānā, two miles away from the Hāilakandi Railway-station in the Cāchār district of the province of Assam. A villager, named Nimāirām De picked up the coins from 4 ft. below the earth, while he was digging a pond. On the previous day, he found another coin of the same size of our present-day eight-anna piece, but his little daughter unfortunately lost it. These two coins, however, he handed over to his co-villager Babu Trailokyamohan Mohanta. From him my highly esteemed teacher, Prof. Vanamali Vedantatirtha, obtained them for me.

1. *Coin of Naranārāyaṇa*

One of these two coins is comparatively small in size and refers to the reign of the great Koch king Naranārāyaṇa. The portion containing the lower halves of the figures indicating the date is broken and lost. Still the broken coin is sufficient to give us the date as Śaka year 1477 (= 1555 A.D.). This reading has also been confirmed by his other coins of the same year preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

From the legend contained in the coin we learn that he was a worshipper of the god Śiva. He is most famous in the history of Bengal for his heroism and public works. His capital was in modern Koch-Behār and he extended his territories on all sides at the expense of the neighbouring princes. He won several victories over the Ahoms, subdued the Kāchāris, took tribute from the king of Manipur and defeated the kings of Jaintia, Sylhet and Tippera. This king was a contemporary of the great Moghul emperor, Akbar, but Abul Fazl does not mention him in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, while the *Akbarnāmā* says that he acknowledged the suzerainty of Akbar, whom he is said to have helped, in his conquest of Bengal and thereby got some portion of the booty. His brother Śukladhvaja popularly known as Śilarāi was

a successful general. The reign of Naranārāyaṇa was noted for the fact that during it the Koch power reached its zenith.

The coins of this king issued in the Śaka year 1455 are found of various sizes, types and legends. Let us see how far our coin agrees with and differs from others.

In the JASB., 1856, page 457, a coin of Naranārāyaṇa was published by late Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra. Our coin agrees with that in size, date and legend on the obverse, but differs in legend on the reverse. That coin contains "Naranārāyaṇa bhupālasya śāke" while the one in our possession contains "Naranārāyaṇasya śāke" only; secondly, a similar coin was published in the same Journal for the year 1875, page 306 by Blochmann, that coin agrees in date and legends on both sides but differs in being much bigger in size. Further it contains slightly different shape of letters. Although there are other slight differences in the shape of some letters, yet the most strikingly peculiar letter of our coin is K (𑀓). Its shape wholly differs from that in all other coins. I looked for such shape in many coins of the Koch kings in the Indian Museum (Calcutta), but could discover none.

Language of the coin is Sanskrit.

Probable weight of the original coin is 11.95 grains approximately.

Diameter of the original coin is 2.9120 c.m.

Legend on the obverse : Śrī śrī Śivacarāṇakamala madhukarasya.

Legend on the reverse : Śrī śrī Naranārāyaṇasya śāke 1477.

"(The coin) of the bee of the lotus of the feet of the twice illustrious Śiva—of the twice illustrious Naranārāyaṇa in the Śaka 1477 (= 1555 A.D.)"

N.B. Mr. Gait in his "History of Assam" (p. 52) supplies us with the information that Viryavanta, the chief of Khairam, seeing the fate of the surrounding Rājās, is said to have voluntarily made his submission to Naranārāyaṇa. ... It was also stipulated that he should in future put the name of Naranārāyaṇa on his coins, the sign of a mace being added to distinguish them from those of the Koch king's own mint. No specimens of these coins are now forthcoming."

2. Coin of Yaṣonārāyaṇa

This coin is well preserved and refers to the reign of a king named Yaṣonārāyaṇa of the Hāceṅgaśā gotra of the Kāchāri tribe. It was issued in the Śaka year 1507 (A. D. 1585). Two other coins (one dated and the other dateless) of this king were found by Mr. Nandalal Burman, the facsimiles of which have been reproduced by Mm. Padmanāth Vidyābinod in the introduction to the "Heḍamba Rājyer Daṇḍa-

vidhi' edited by him. Both of them differ from our coin regarding legend, size, script and date (in the case of one which bears date). The one is much bigger and the other much smaller than this newly discovered coin. The former contains legend on the obverse "Hara-Gaurī caraṇa parāyaṇa Hāceṇgaśā Vaṃśaja" and on the reverse—"Śrī śrī Yaśonārāyaṇa deva bhupālasya śāke 155." The date śāke 1505 for 155 of the coin was rightly suggested by Mm. Padmanāth Vidyābinod. That has been confirmed by this recently found coin which was minted two years after.

A few years back two stone inscriptions of king Meghanārāyaṇa of the Hāceṇgaśā line were discovered at Maibong in Cāchār. They supply us with the information that king Meghanārāyaṇa caused a gateway to be constructed on the 26th Āṣāḍha of the Śaka year 1498 (July, 1576) at Maibong, his capital. From this inscriptional evidence and other materials at our disposal we can with all probability assume that king Yaśonārāyaṇa, whose coins began to be issued from or before the Śaka year 1505, was an immediate successor of Mēghavarman.

The history of Cāchār and the Kāchāri tribe, which played an important part in Assam, has not yet been properly built up for want of sufficient materials. Even an important king like Yaśonārāyaṇa did not so long find any mention in the history of Cāchār. But now it is hoped that this newly found coin together with the two coins discovered before will certainly place him in his true chronological position.

The language of the coin is Sanskrit.

Its weight is 9.0051 grains and diameter 3.11 cm.

Legend on the obverse : Hara-Gaurī caraṇa para(rā)yaṇa Hāceṇgaśā Vaṃśa.

Legend on the reverse : ja śrī Yaśonārāyaṇa deva bhupālasya śāke 1507.

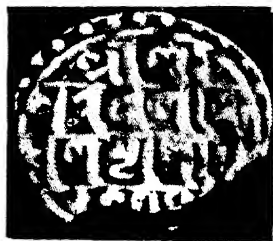
"(The coin) of the king, the illustrious Yaśonārāyaṇadeva, born of the Hāceṇgaśā line and devoted to the feet of Hara and Gaurī and in Śaka 1507"

Hāceṇgaśā appears to be one of the gotras (or family) of the Kāchāris. The kings of Heḍamba belonged to this line (Heḍamba Rājyer Daṇḍavidhi, Intro., page 13 fn).

COIN OF NARANĀRĀYANA

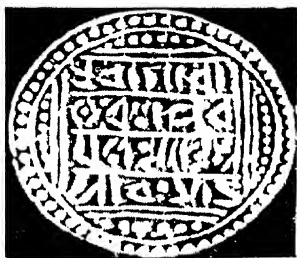


OBVERSE

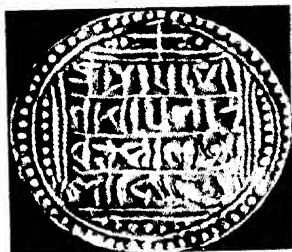


REVERSE

COIN OF YAṢONĀRĀYANA



OBVERSE



REVERSE

J. H. Q., September, 1926



MISCELLANY

Cranganore

The capital of the Perumāls and the first sea-port in all Kerala, 'where came ships from all the four corners of world,' Cranganore is a place with which is associated many an ancient tradition. It was here that the Perumāls, the Imperial suzerains of all Kerala wielded their sceptre and received the willing homage of all Malayalis, of their chiefs, of their representatives, and of their spiritual leaders. Here were built the spacious palaces for their Emperors, the mansions for their ministers, the shrines for their gods and the halls and theatres for the discussion of matters of State. The venerable personages skilled in the arts of peace and war, who crowded this ancient arena of activity and guided the 'ship of State' are now but shadowy figures, and not a trace of anything historical about them is now available. The hand of time was unscrupulous and has completely destroyed everything of the past. The sole sites surviving from that ancient antiquity are the few temples, such, for instance, as Tiruvancikulam, Cranganore, Kittolli, Cingapuram, Trikulasekharapuram; and a mosque, and the site of the Perumāl's palace. The vestiges of none other are now available. Even the sites of the specially important historical areas, such, for instance, as the Chinese, the Grecian, the Roman, the Buddhistic, the Jewish and the Christian colonies¹ are lost in obscurity and have yet to be identified. Muziris, Anjuvanam, Mañigrāmam, Mahodayapaṭṭaṇam—whether these are the names of the whole town, or of the different suburbs of the capital is yet only a matter of guess work. So, again, it is as regards the site of the Christian church, the College and the Fort built by the Portuguese. Thus it will be seen that the ancient and mediæval history and geography of this ancient capital of Kerala are practically unknown and the only possibility of throwing any light on this tangled web of mystery, obscurity, ignorance and confusion rests wholly and entirely upon what may yield after an excavation in that centre. That excavation may yield some valuable clues and materials to solve the mystery

¹ It is subsequently learnt that the Portuguese built this church and fort on the site of the old Christian colony.

enshrining the city and to reconstruct something of its history, that the bosom of the town holds forth some secrets yet for us, may be anticipated, if any credence may be attached to reports now and then received of finds in the shape of coins and gold, of ancient pottery, of the remains of ancient construction, of well-paved wells etc.,—reports which are as a matter of course always and only second hand.

Even in the period of modern history the town often fell a prey to the sack of ruthless soldiery. At one time it was the conquering hordes of Zamorin of Calicut, and at another the combined armies of the Maharaja of Cochin and the Dutch repulsing the insolent Portuguese and the aggressive Zamorin. Towards the close of the eighteenth century came the invading hordes of the ruthless iconoclast, the Tiger of Mysore, who sacked and destroyed every noble structure, religious or secular. Hence there is not even a single structure which can claim any high antiquity.

Thus the historical arena of Cranganore is as vast as it is unknown, and it will be presumptuous in the present imperfect state of our knowledge, to enter into any sort of details about the town. Hence I shall content myself with a few remarks on the places of worship visited.

1. *Tiruvancikulam Temple*

One of the most important of the temples in the locality, it dates back to the period of Perumāls. Tradition will have it that this temple was founded by one of the early Perumāls. Since the deity enshrined is supposed to represent Cidambareśa, it is possible that the Perumāl who founded this temple is a prince from Coḷamaṇḍala. Tradition hath it that there were two Coḷa Perumāls. From this point of view it is reasonable to hold that the temple must have been founded earlier than the 3rd century A. D.

This tradition of the eastern origin of the temple is also to some extent borne out by the structural peculiarities of the temple. The most noteworthy feature is the presence of more than one Gopuram. As regards the Śrikoil, it deserves to be pointed out that it has a porch in front—a feature not commonly found in other temples. These two structural peculiarities are, however, found in the neighbouring Kittolli Temple, where also the same influence may be traced. Further, the presence of Dāsīs in attendance, the daily function of taking the God in procession to the bed-room, and the presence of a number of shrines also may be adduced in support of the same origin. This latter, namely, presence of more than one shrine set up around in

the precincts of the temple appears significant. In old temples the presence of many shrines is in itself a rare thing, but so far as we know in no temple are found so many shrines set up in honour of the same deity. When it is remembered that on an individual's death his own favourite deity is sometimes enshrined within the precincts of the family temple if there be one ; when it is remembered that Swāmiyārs generally have their own gods deposited in the place, generally a temple, where they happen to spend their last moments, one may incline to the opinion that these are shrines set up by different lords of the place to locate their favourite gods. If this view is plausible, here is one indication of the number of Perumāls who held their court at Tiruvancikulam. The number of Śaiva Perumāls may thus be fixed with some sort of certainty. Following this line of argument one may presume that there was at least one Vaiṣṇavite Perumāḷ from the presence of the Trikuḷaśekharapuram Viṣṇu Temple. And this leads one to suppose that somewhere in the neighbourhood there might be existing the ruins of the ancient Buddhistic pagoda, which is reported to have been built of gold ; for, some of the Perumāls were decidedly Buddhistic in their faith.

Since the foundation of the temple, Vanculeśa appears to have been the patron deity of the Perumāls. It is here that the statues of Bhāskara Ravi Varma Ceramān Perumāḷ and his spiritual preceptor Sundaramūrti Swāmiyār are set up and worshipped. After the dismemberment of the Perumāls' empire the temple passed into the hands of the Perumpaṭappu Swarūpam *i. e.* the Cochin Royal Family, and H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin derives his sovereign power from being the custodian and guardian of Vanculeśa, as is evidently clear from the Royal title "Gaṅgādhara Trikoil Adiharikal Vira Kerala etc." still affixed to the Maharaja's name. This amply bears out the supposition that in ancient days the Maharaja of Cochin must have held their court at this historical centre.

The Śiva shrine set up at the western entrance has an interesting tradition connected with it. It is said that when one of the Perumāls accepted Buddhism, he wanted to set it up in the family place of worship. In this family shrine was originally set up a Śiva idol. The Perumāḷ, therefore, had it removed to the precincts of the Tiruvancikulam Temple and enshrined it in this structure. It is now familiarly known as Naṭakkal-Tevar.

In the Matilakam is found a pair of Konna trees (Cassius Fistula). Though this tree flowers generally only in March-April-May, the pair

in the temple flowers at all times in the year, one or the other yielding flowers every day. The faithful see in this a manifestation of Vanculeśa.

2. *Kattolli Temple*

This is another temple dedicated to Śiva, which tradition puts back to the period of the Perumāls. This temple which literally means Kīl-Taḷi represents Airāṇikuḷam Kaḷakam. From the size of the Maṭilakam, which could more or less be inferred from vestiges yet available it must have been quite an important temple in early days. But nothing of its old glory is now to be found, the last stage in its downward course being marked by the sack and destruction at the hands of Tippu's soldiery. The area is now marked by the presence of many broken images of gods and goddesses, which in many a case reveal a high degree of excellence. The image in the main structure, the biggest of the kind yet examined, probably represents the sole relic of its former greatness. In its general structure the central shrine has much in common with the Tiruvancikuḷam temple, though it is now in ruins.

The discovery of an inscribed slab of stone in the vicinity of this temple about 4 feet below the level of the ground makes one inclined to think that an excavation in this area may yield some interesting finds.

3. *The Mosque*

On the banks (at the south-east corner) of the Arākuḷam, lit. Aramanakuḷam, the Princesses' tank, is situated a small mosque. This is reported to have been the first mosque founded in the whole of India. It does not face Mecca but faces due east and this is, therefore, a peculiarity which distinguishes it from every other mosque here, for invariably all of them face Mecca. Secondly, its position is such that the Ārāṭṭu procession of the Tiruvancikuḷam temple circumambulates this mosque also. These are quite significant facts and may suggest some close relation between this mosque and the rulers of the land.

The story of its origin runs thus : The Perumāḷ who went to Mecca married a niece of the Holy Prophet. After that he returned homewards accompanied by his wife and his brother-in-law, Malik Din Hajiyyar with eighteen stones to found eighteen mosques. On the way, however, the Royal consort died. But before his death he had given a Royal writ to his successor at Tiruvancikuḷam to permit his brother-in-law to found a mosque over his once favourite temple. In deference to

the wishes of his predecessor, the then Perumāl allowed him to build the mosque at the present site, which more or less agreed with the description given in the letter. The first of the stones was deposited here and over it was raised the first mosque. Here Malik Din Hajiyyar lived and died, preaching the gospel of the Holy Prophet.

The origin, as sketched here, appears to be exceedingly doubtful, because the Perumāl's Apostacy is now discredited. It may be that the mosque is founded not on the site of the Hindu temple, but on that of the Buddhistic shrine. My later enquiries also show that there is a tradition which corroborates this view. If this is tenable, then we have the site of the Buddha shrine discovered.

4. *Trikulaśekharaḍpuram Temple*

This is the only important Vaiṣṇavite temple in the whole locality. This temple must have been founded by a Kulaśekhara Perumāl, probably the same who wrote the two dramas, *Dhanajaya* and *Tapatisamvaraṇa*. Because he was a Vaiṣṇavite, he probably did not accept Vanculeśa as his patron deity and so set up his own favourite god and established a new town which henceforth came to be called *Trikulaśekhara-puram*, the city of Kulaśekhara. Few might have been the emperors who espoused this cult and hence probably it never rose to be the most important temple. In its structural peculiarities it has much in common with the temples at *Tiruvankulam* and *Kittolli*.

5. *The Bhagavatī Temple*

The temple is dedicated to Bhadra-Kālī, whose wrath is supposed to be the cause of all epidemic diseases in Kerala. To gain her good will a big annual festival is held towards the close of February or the beginning of March, when thousands and thousands of people stream into the place from far and wide. The temple was founded between the years 115 and 125 A. D. by Chenguṭṭuva Perumāl, the Imperial sovereign of all Kerala, who reigned from 69 A. D. to 125 A. D., to commemorate the tragic end of a faithful woman.

"Kannaki was the fair and virtuous bride of Kovalan, a rich merchant, who lived in Coḷa during the reign of Elanchel-Chenni. He was reduced to poverty because of his loose way of livings and migrated to the Pāṇḍya kingdom, accompanied by his devoted wife. There the unfortunate man was charged with stealing one of a pair of anklets intended for the queen and was hanged. The indignant wife proved the innocence of her husband at the court of the king and charged

the king with unrighteousness. Cutting off one of her breasts¹, she threw it into the midst of the council-chamber and invoked eternal curses upon the king. She then rushed out of the court and ran to the hills, where she died.

One of the mountain chiefs, who was on his way to the court of the Perumāl to pay his annual subsidy, happened to witness her death, and reported it at the court of his overlord. To this information Cāttanār, the court poet of the Pāṇḍya king, at that moment a distinguished guest of the Perumāl, then added the preceding details. The Perumāl was struck with pity on hearing the woeful story and asked his younger brother, Prince Ellankov Aḍigal, to commemorate it by writing a book. The queen was so overcome with sympathy for her unfortunate sister, that she requested her lord to build a temple in honour of the devoted and faithful wife. Thus, thanks to the royal sorrow, an excellent work, "Chillappatikaram," was written, and a temple was built, one of the most adored in all Kerala, to preserve the memory of the tragic fate of a noble woman."

Thus this is the most ancient temple in all Kerala. It is also a very queer type of temple. For all practical purposes the goddess predominates everywhere; but judging from the structural point of view it appears that Śiva, enshrined in the centre of the sacred precincts, is the most important. For, the shrine of the goddess is identical with the Beli-Kallu, the sacrificial stone established in Agni corner and as is the case in other temples, it heads the Sapta Matrīkals. Here, then, have we an instance of a sacrificial stone superseding the main deity in the temple. It may not also be uninteresting to point out here that the gold masked Piḍha, symbolic of the goddess, bears no little resemblance to a miniature Buddhistic Stūpa. To the east of this is a closed up shrine, reported to be the original seat of the goddess, the contents of which nobody knows. This temple, therefore, offers an interesting field for work. Here is also hung a bell which carries an inscription in old Portuguese: 'Praised be the most Holy Name of Jesus,' evidently bespeaking its Portuguese origin.

K. R. PISHAROTI

1 During the Bharanī festival the goddess is even now referred to as Oṭṭa-Mulacci, a lady with one breast only, thus attesting to the traditional story of the cutting off one of the breasts.

Multiplication of Jātakas

The Barhut Jātaka-scenes are important as indicating the existence of a collection of Birth-stories. One of the Pāli canonical books, namely, the Culla-Niddesa, refers to a collection of 500 stories (*pañca jātika-satūni*).¹ The reference is apparently to the canonical Jātaka book included in the Sutta-Piṭaka. The stories presupposed by the carvings differ in details from those in the Sutta-Piṭaka collection, and approach those in the Jātaka-Commentary, compiled in the 5th century A. D., if not later. When this was compiled, the traditional total number of the Birth-stories was 550. Buddhaghoṣa himself knew this to be the total number. But when Fa Hian visited Ceylon in the early part of the 5th century A.D., he saw representations of 500 Birth-stories round the Abhayagiri monastery. This number tallies with the total given in the Culla-Niddesa. The Commentary edited by Fausböll is the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā which refers to an earlier Sinhalese Commentary, the Jātakatthakathā, with which Buddhaghoṣa was acquainted. In Fausböll's edition the Commentary-collection contains 547 Jātakas, falling short of the later traditional total by just three stories. The following are the processes whereby the number increased from 500 to 550 :—

- (a) *Repetition of the same story under the same or different titles*, e. g., Kapota (42), Lola (274), Kapota (375) and Kāka (395); Indasamānagotta (161) and Mittāmita (197); Bhojājānya (23) and Ājañña (24); Ārāmadūsaka (46) and Ārāmadūsa (268); Losaka (41), Mittavinda (82), Mittavinda (104), Mittavinda (369) and Catudvāra (439); Phala (54) and Kimpakka (85); Nandi-Visāla (28) and Sārambha (88); Parosahassa (99), Parosata (101), Jhānasodhana (134) and Candābha (135); Sāketa (68) and Sāketa (237); Mahāpanāda (268) and Suruci (489); Ekarāja (303) and Maṇikuṇḍala (351); Kākāti (327) and Sussondi (360); Akataññu (90) and Hiri (363); Makkata (173) and Kapi (250).
- (b) *Repetition of the same story conveying slightly different morals*, e. g., Kharādiya (15) and Tipallattha (16); Vānarinda (57) and Kumbhila (224).

- (c) *Repetition of the same story with changes in the personnel*, e. g., Rucira (275) and Kapota (42); Ghata (355) and Ekarāja (303); Veluka (43) and Indasamānagotta (f. 161); Migapotaka (372) and Somadatta (410).
- (d) *Manipulation of different stories to impress the same moral*, e. g., Sujāta (352), Matarodana (317), Ananusocaniya (328) and Maṭṭakunḍali (449).
- (e) *Development of different stories with the same plot*, e. g., Kuru dhamma (276) and Vessantara (547).
- (f) *Multiplication of the stories with the same hero*, e. g., Alambusā (523) and Nalinikā (526); Vidhūra-Paṇḍita (545), Dhūmakāri (413) and Dasabrāhmaṇa (495).
- (g) *Separation of parts from a whole*, e. g., Kakaṇṭaka (170), Sirikālakaṇṇi (192), Devatāpaṇḍita (360), Khajjopanaka (364), Bhūripaṇḍita (452), Meṇḍaka (471), Sirimaṇḍa (500) and Pañcapaṇḍita (508) from Mahāummagga (546); Kaṇḍari (351), Culla-Kuṇāla (464) from Kuṇāla (536); Catuposathika (441) from Puṇṇaka or Vidhūra-Paṇḍita (545).¹

So far as these processes are concerned, the Barhut Jātaka-scenes yield the following testimonies. In the scene bearing the label *Isi-siṃgiya-Jātaka*, just the Bodhisatta's birth from a doe is fully represented.² This is a minor point in the story of *R̥ṣyaśṛṅga*. The really important point as to how the Bodhisatta was tempted in vain by a heavenly courtesan and an earthly princess is entirely left out. The label indicates that there was only one Buddhist version of the story, then known to the Barhut artists, with the title corresponding to that of the story of *R̥ṣyaśṛṅga* in the Sanskrit Epics. In the later Buddhist works, such as the Jātaka-Commentary, the Mahāvastu and the Avadānakalpalatā, one finds two stories, named after the two temptresses as the *Alambuṣā* and the *Nalinikā*, with *R̥ṣyaśṛṅga* as the hero and the Barhut episode as common to both. In the second scene the artists have represented a royal personage as giving away a state-elephant as a gift to a Brahman ascetic. The scene bears no label whatsoever to indicate that it belonged to any particular Birth-story. The Commentary-collection contains two distinct Jātakas, viz., the *Kurudhamma* and the *Vessantara*, developed with the Barhut episode as a common plot,

1 The numbers refer to Fausböll's edition.

2 Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. xxv. 7.

the latter as a Buddhist substitute for the Rāmāyaṇic story of Rāma-Sītā.¹

In the Jātaka-Commentary, the story of Kaṇḍari-Kinnarā is treated as a separate Jātaka as well as an interlude in the Kuṇāla. The Barhut scene with the label *Kaṇḍari-ki*² leaves one in the dark as to the actual position of the story in the Jātaka collection, then known. Similarly the story of Janaka and Arrow-maker is just one of the many episodes in the Mahājanaka-Jātaka. Neither from the Barhut scene³ nor from its label it is decisive if this was then treated as a Jātaka by itself or an interlude of another Jātaka. But consider the scene in which a pair of Kinnaras stand in the presence of a king.⁴ It bears a label which distinctly characterises the underlying story as a Jātaka, called Kinnara. This story occurs in the Commentary-collection as one of the episodes in the Takkāriya-Jātaka. Here the evidence of the Barhut scene may be taken to prove either that the stories originally treated as separate Jātakas were later on interwoven into the narrative of a larger Birth-story of novelette class, or that the interludes of a novellette Jātaka came to be treated as independent Birth-stories. The following example will however show how the earlier form of a story supplied the peg upon which was engrafted another story. Mahauṣadha's feats of wisdom and ready wit at Yavamadhyaka form one of the many episodes in the Mahāummagga-Jātaka. The Barhut carving illustrates just these feats under the label *Yavamajhakiya-Jātaka*. The label clearly indicates that the Jātaka in its earlier form was concerned only with these feats.⁵

B. M. BARUA

1 Fausböll's Jātaka, vol. VI, p. 557: the wife of the Bodhisatta says that she followed her husband in his exile just as Sītā followed Rāma (*Rāmaṃ Sītā va*).

2 Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XIV (Side).

3 Ibid., Pl. XLIV. 2.

4 Ibid., Pl. XXVII. 12.

5 Ibid., Pl. XXV. 3.

The Sādhana-mālā and its Tibetan Version

Scholars know that an edition of the *Sādhana-mālā* was first undertaken over eleven years back in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica Series*, but there is hardly any hope of its coming out, the series itself having been discontinued owing to the great war and the political situation in Russia. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya has, however, now brought out an edition of the same work in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* of which he is the General Editor. The book will be complete in two volumes, of which only the first has so far been published. The editor deserves our thanks for his learned work which, though not free from criticism, is a valuable contribution to the subject.

The edition is based on eight different MSS. In seven of them the work is called *Sādhana-mālā*, while in only one MS., viz., Nb, one finds the name *Sādhana-samuccaya* which is supported also by the blank obverse side of the MS. Ab. Now, in the Tibetan Tanjur, *Rgyud hgral* (*Tantravṛtti*), Du, LXXI (Cordier, Vol. iii, p. 20) there is a large collection of 246 (95-340) *sādhana*s (*sgrub thabs*) under the name *Sādhana-samuccaya* (*sgrub thabs kun las btus pa*), which is divided into three sections. With a few exceptions almost all the *sādhana*s found in the *Sādhana-mālā*, as it is presented to us in the first volume by Dr. Bhattacharya, are identical with those in the Tibetan work, and both of them begin with the *Trisamayārāja-sādhana*. The words, *sādhana-mālā* and *sādhana-samuccaya*, though different are identical in meaning, and are, therefore, two different names for the same work.

As bearing upon the later phase of Buddhism, the *Sādhana-mālā* is a work very important in various respects. But I am here concerned only with the Sanskrit text as presented in the volume of GOS. It has already been noticed that for the preparation of the present edition not less than eight MSS have been used, yet it is desirable to examine how far the readings in the text edited by Dr. Bhattacharya are correct and reliable. With this object in view I take up here only two *sādhana*s at random, nos. 2 and 3, and comparing the Sanskrit text with the Tibetan version place the result before my readers. I hope to show that it is Tibetan and not Sanskrit that has preserved the true and actual readings in many cases, and that the former helps us in understanding many obscure points in those Sanskrit works that are extant.

I TRISAMAYARĀJASĀDHANA

Sanskrit Text, *Sādhyanamālā*, No. 2, pp. 15-17. Tibetan Text, *Dam tshig gsum gyi rgyal poñi sgrub thabs*¹, Tanjur, Rgyud ḡgrel, Du, LXXI ; Cordier, III, p. 20.

Page 15, Verse 1.

In *a*² in the word *śamatasūradharmīṇaḥ* for *śamata-* which has hardly any sense we have in T (=Tibetan) *śamati-* (*šin tu yañ dag*).

Similarly in *c* for *asamanta*^o T has *asamāna*^o (*mñan med*) which is undoubtedly better.

In *d* for *sama-* in *śamavarā*^o T reads *asama-* (*mtshuñs med*) and consequently owing to the metre it should be compounded with the preceding word, *amālācalāsama*^o.

It may also be noted that in *b* for *jagati* T reads *jagatām* (*ḡgro ba rñams kyī*), but the metre does not allow it. It is, however, immaterial.

Verse 2.

In *a* as the metre, *Mañjubhūṣiṇī*,³ demands the third syllable in *gaganasamo*^o must be *guru*, but in fact it is not so. Moreover, the compound word does not give any clear sense. The line in T runs here thus : *gagansamās tadupamā na vidyate* (*nam mkhañ dan mtshuñs de rñams dpe med*). But this reading, too, in Sanskrit cannot be accepted for the same reason. Therefore, for the sake of metre, the actual reading seems to have been : *gaganopamās tadupamā na vidyate*. But if we accept here a defective metre as the case is often found in such Buddhist writings, the actual reading might have been as suggested first.

T fully supports *b*, but there is nothing, as cannot be expected, in favour of the reading *asīmike* for *asīmake*.

In *c*, *sadasattvadhātu*^o does not give any sense. For this T has *sada* (for *sadā*) *sattvadhātu*^o (*rtag tu sems can khams*). The word *sadā* is made here *sada* ending in short *a* owing to the metre. This kind of shortening long vowels is often found in Buddhist Sanskrit. See below, verse 3, *a*, *karuṇāvega*^o for *karuṇāvega*.

In the same line for *vara*^o T reads *kara*^o (*byed*).

1 The full text is edited at the end of this paper.

2 The four successive *pādas* of a *śloka* is indicated here by *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* respectively.

3 The scheme is as follows : — — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — —

In *d* for *asamanta*^o T appears to read *samanta*^o (*ma lus pa = nikkhila* = *samanta*, lit. *amūrtia*). Now, the compound word being in this case *samantasiddhiṣu*, between this word and the preceding one, *vigatopameṣu*, a short syllable is wanting in the metre and for this the insertion of *ca* may be suggested.

Verse 3.

In *b* for *avirodha*-T has *anirodha*- (*hgog pa med*) which is wrongly written in the MS., A, as *anibodha*. In *c* T reads °*parūpy anantiṇī* (*gzhan yañ mihah med pa*) for °*parūsamantiṇī*. But if we ignore the Tib. word *yañ*, as Tib. translators often put it, though its Skt. equivalent, *api*, may not be employed in the original, and sometimes also omit it even when it is actually found therein, the reading as printed may be regarded as right. The word *para* in *arthasādana-parā* is undoubtedly used in the sense of 'totally devoted to', but the Tib. translator has wrongly taken it to mean *anya* 'other' (*gzhan*). It may be pointed out here that the hyphen at the end of *c* is not wanted at all.

Verse 4.

In *a* for *na nirodhatām* T gives *anirodhanā* reading simply *hgog med* which is generally translated by *anirodha*. In the same line the reading *acalā* as found in the MS. A for *ākulā* in *karuṇacārikākulā* is supported by T which has *gyo ba med*.

In *b*, *triloki* is compounded with *vara*^o, but according to T it is evidently used as locative, *triloke*, *e* in classical Skt. being changed to *i* in Buddhist Skt.; for in T the word is followed by the verb : *hjiḡ rten gsum bsgroñ* (*bsgren* ?) and not by *vara*^o (*mchog*).

In *c* T has literally *meya*- (*gzhal bya*) for *-mita*- in *amitā*^o.

In *d*, *gatiṃ gateṣvapi* is a doubtful reading, as it is not allowed by the metre, nor is supported by T according to which we may read here in prose *aho tatra dharmatā sugatir avagatā* (*kye ma chos ñid der hjiḡ legs par khoñ du tshuñ*). As the T shows, *su*- (*legs par*) cannot be construed with *dharmatā* as *sudharmatā*. It seems that the Tibetan translator could not understand the line clearly, nor is the Skt. line free from defect.

Verse 5.

In *a*, *varadā* must be joined in compound to the preceding word *agrasiddhi*-, the word being *agrasiddhi-varadā* (*h*) as shows the Tib. version : *mchog dños grub mchog sbyin*,

In *b* for *varadānātī* read *varadāna te* separately, here *varadāna* being for *varadānūni* in classical Skt. as suggested by T: *sbyin paḥi mchog de dag¹ la*. The next words in T are *riag tu legs par gsol*, which can be rendered into Skt. by *sadā suvṛtāḥ* (= *suprārthitāḥ*). Accordingly one is to read *suvṛtatām gatāḥ* for the adopted reading *agragatitām gatāḥ*. But, in all probability, the actual reading in T for *gsal* might have been *son*; thus with *legs par* (as *legs par son*) it means *sugata* in Skt., and the Tib. phrase is well-known in that sense. Consequently the only reading which can be suggested here is *sugatām gatāḥ* for *agragatitām gataḥ* as printed. The latter may, however, somehow or other be defended in the sense of the former.

Page 16.

In *c* according to T the word *triloki* is to be taken separately for its classical form *triloke* as in the preceding verse. The reading in T is: *hjiḡ rten gsum kun*, Skt. *triloki* (-e) *sakalāḥ*, or *sakala triloke*.

After this the prose line, *iti trisamayārūjakalpoktā vajradharasamgītā stutīḥ* is put in T in verse completing it with the following line of the next verse: *idam tad^o vistaram*.

In accordance with T there is no *iti* before *trisamayārūja^o*, nor *saṃ* in *saṃgītā* in *vajradharasamgītā*, but it adds *kṛtā* (*byas*) after *stutīḥ*. For *idam tat* T has *atra tat* (*de ḥdir*).

Verse 8.

The whole line *darśayanti^o vighrahaṃ* is omitted here in T.

Verse 9.

In *a* T has *siddha* (*grub ba*) for *śuddha*. It is to be noted that in *b* the metre is defective owing to nine syllables instead of eight. Accordingly one should read in *a* and *b*, *siddhāmogharājāṃ* for *śuddham amogharājāṃ* as printed. *Amoghasiddharāja* (*don yod grub pa rgyal po*) is the actual word, but only owing to the metre the word *siddha* is put here before.

In *d* for *pravadanti* T has *dadanti* (= *dadati*) reading *ster bar mdsad pa ste* without the prefix *pra-* (*rab tu*).

Verse 10.

In *d* for *manasepsitāḥ* T seems to read *manasepsitām* (*yid kyi ḥdod pa*) to be taken with *sarvā^o pūrīm*. In the same line T adds *pari-* (*yoṅs su*) before *dadanti* (*ster*).

1 In the xylograph *bdag*.

In *e* for *balam vegam* T reads *stabs kyi śugs* which is in Skt. *balasya vegam*, (= *balavegam*).
dañ for *kyi*.

In the following two prose lines for *eva* after *etaḍ* T has *evam* (*de bzhin du*, lit. *tathā*); for *vajramandala*,^o °*pañjara*^o (*gur*);¹ and for *mahāyogatantrē'pi*^o *paḥitam*, *yogamahātantrānusaraṇād vācyam* (*hbyor rgyud chen poḥi rjes su hbraṇis nas briod par byaḥo*).

Verse 11.

In *b* for *buddhaputrāṃś ca bhūvataḥ* T reads *buddhaputrasva bhūvataḥ* (*saiṣ rgyas sras kyi rañ bzhin dañ*).

Verse 13.

For *gurau vidheyā nīvajñā* in *a* T has *nūtikramyā guror ājñā* (*bla mahi bkaḥ las ḥdaḥ mi bya*).

In *c* and *d* after *mantramudrāś ca* T adds *vyartha* (*don med*), and the whole line seems to have been read: *na svayaṃ mantramudrāś ca vyarthā nāśy āś ca naiṣa tāl* / as suggested by T: *rañ gi śhags dañ phyag rgya yañ* / *don med pa dañ ṇams mi bya*.

Verse 14.

In *d* T has *bhojanīyāḥ* (*bzaḥ bar bya*) for *bhañjanīyāḥ*. See *Sādhana-mālā*, p. 14, ll. 14-15: "na vajrākīrā bhakṣaṇīyā na^o."

Verse 15.

In *b* for *mudrādiṣu gauravam* which is evidently wrong T has *mudrāyām* or *mudrāṣv agauravam* (*phyag rgya mi gus*). Literally *b* in T may be translated thus: *heyam mudrāṣv agauravam* (*phag rgya mi gus spañ bar bya*).

Verse 16.

In *b* for *suśīlānaparādhayoh* T has *suśīle nāparādhayet* (*tshul khrims ldan la smad mi bya*). In *c* for *na kāryaṃ* read *nākāryaṃ* T reading the sentence *bya min bya ba mi bya zhiñ*.

Verse 17.

In *a*, *saṃkṣepāt* is omitted in T which in *a* and *b* literally reads: *parātmapratikūlāni* / *kāryāṇi khalu varjayet* / (*bdag gzhan rjes su mi mthun paḥi* / *bya ḥa rnams ni spañ bar bya* /). In *c* for *mahākālpe* T reads °*kalpaḥ* (*rtog pa chen paḥi dam*)^o.

1 See *Sādhana-mālā*, p. 6, l. 3, where the word *vajrapañjara* is used.

Verse 18.

For *kaukṛtyam ājīvamalam* in *a* T reads *kaukṛtyasahitājīvo na kāryaḥ* (*htsho ba ḥgyod bcas mi bya zhiñ*). Accordingly the Skt. reading seems to have been *kaukṛtyenājīvam alam*, the last word, *alam*, being taken in the sense of 'enough of,' *vāraṇa*, 'negation.' In that case, the second case-ending instead of third one as demanded by grammar in the word *ājīva* (as well as *rati* which follows) may be due to Buddhist Skt.

In *b* for *ratiṃ saṃgaṇikāsu ca* T has *ratiṃ gaṇakathāsu ca* (*tshogs smra dgaḥ ba*). The reading of the last portion of *b* in Tib. appears to be defective. See the text edited. In accordance with the reading as suggested by me *b* would literally mean 'gaṇakathā (or the talk about multitude of people) cannot be allowed.' But *gaṇakathā* of Tib. may be tantamount to *saṃgaṇikā* of our text (see *Mahāvastu*, II, 355 ; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 464) meaning 'association' or 'conversation with a multitude or company.'

In *c* for *bhūriḥ* which has no sense T gives *bhāvah* (*gyur*, lit. *bhūta*) to be connected with the preceding word, *vicikitsakatābhāvah*.

The remaining portion after the verse 19 is put in prose in T.

Verse 20.

In *c* for *śrāddhaḥ* T reads *śreṣṭhaḥ* (*dan po*, lit. *prathamah*).

Verse 21.

In *a* T reads °*hitodyuktavāñmanah*°, strictly °*hitayuktavāñmanah*° (*phan pa dan ldan paḥi lus dan*) for °*hitodyuktaḥ* (which should have been °*hitodyukto*) *vāñmanah*°.

In *d* for *vidhinā* T has *sāadhanena* (*sgrub thabs*). Accordingly the actual reading owing to the metre seems to be *sādhanepśitam* for *vidhine*°.

II VAJRĀSANASĀDHANA

Sanskrit Text, *Sāadhanamālā*, No 3, pp. 18-22. Tibetan Text, *Rdo rje gdan gyi sgrub thabs*, Tanjur, Rgyud ḥgrel, Du, LXXI ; Cordier III, p. 21.

P. 18, L. 1

For *namah° tathāgatāya* T has *namah śrīvajrāsanāya*, thus supporting the reading found in the MS. A, excepting *śrī-* which is omitted in the latter.

Ll. 2-5

As regards the beginning stanza, there are some divergent readings in T, but as it is not quite clear to me on some points it is better not to discuss them here.

L. 6

For *tataḥ* T reads *tatra* (*de la*) which is better ; and for *bhagavantaṃ* it has *bhagavan-mūrtim* (*°sku*)

L. 7

T omits *°buddhaṃ sarvatathāgatādisamanvitam*.

L. 11

For *hrīṣ* after *°mitābhāya* T has *hrīḥ*.

L. 12

T omits *svāhū* after *hūṣ*, and reads *aḥ* for *khūṣ*.

P. 19, l. 4

Before *guru*° T adds *uttara*° (*bla bla ma*°).

L. 5

For *snānapūjā*° T has *snānapuṣpādi*° (*khruś dañ me tog la sogś pa*°).

L. 6

T rightly adds *kūśala-* or *puṇya-* (*dge*) before *pariṇāmanū, trīṣaraṇa gamanam* is left out in T.

P. 20, l. 4

Before *dviḥhujam* T adds *ekamukhaṃ* (*zhal gcig*).

Ll. 5-6

For *savyakaraṃ* and *apasavyam* (in every case printed *ava*°) T has *apasavyaṃ* (= *dakṣiṇaṃ*) and *savyam* (*gyas* and *gyon pa*) respectively. And for *utsaṅga*° T reads *uttāna*° (*gan khal du*). That as regards the *bhūmisparsamudrā* the Tib. readings are quite right is evident from different figures of the Buddha. For instance, see the figures in the *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* by Vincent A. Smith, p. 189 ; *Indische Plastik* von William Cohn, 1921, pp. 26, 27. The case is the same with ll. 9, 10. See below.

L. 6

For *raktavastrācchāditagātṛaṃ* T has *raktavastragātṛaṃ* (*na bzah dmar sku*). After this T adds *bsnams*, Skt. lit. *gr̥hītam* ; it may, however, be explained in the sense of *gr̥hītvū* (*bsnams nas*).

L. 9

For *savya-* T has *apasavyahaste* (= *dakṣiṇa*°), as it reads *phyag gyas pa na*. *Cāmara* is taken in the right hand and not in the left.

L. 10

For *apasavyena* T has *savye* (= *vāme*). For *°puspacchaṭā* T reads *°sapuśpapallava*° (*yal ga me tog dañ bcas pa*).

L. 11

T omits *śukla-* in *śuklavarnam* reading lit. *gātravarnavantaṃ* (*sku mdag can pa*).

Ll. 18-19.

T supports the reading *stanamadhye* (*nu ma dbus su*) found in the MSS. N C for *stanadvaye*.

L. 19

For *śuklavarnam* T has *rakta*^o (*dmar po*).

P. 21, l. 1

For *vibhāvya* T *vibhāvayet* (*bsgom par byaḥo*).

L. 2

For *hūkāraṃ* T *hūkārah* (*huṃ yig go*). Here ends the sentence.

L. 3

For *samayasattvavat* T has *vīravat* or *tapasvīvat* (*dpaḥ bzhin du*).

L. 4

In T *tataḥ* is omitted. For *°maṇḍalaṃ tasyopari* T reads *°maṇḍala-soypari*. For *ūkāra*^o T, which is here a little indistinct in the xylograph, seems to read *ākāra*^o.

L. 5

T omits *ca* before *iti*.

L. 8

For *ūrdhvam* T has *madhye* (*dbus su*).

L. 13

For *sthūpayet* T reads *bhāvayet* (*dgoñ bar byaḥo*).

Ll. 13-14

For *arghya°prokṣaṇam* T reads *pādyācamanadhūpakṣepañāni* [*zhabs bsil dan | zhal bsil dan | bsañ (bsaṅs ?) gtor rnams*].

L. 14

For *kṣīrādi* T has *pāyasādi* (*ho thug la sog*s). It may, however, be observed here as evident from the Tib. the word *kṣīra* does not mean here 'milk', but 'rice and milk cooked together' as porridge. This is called *pāyasa* or *paramāṇna* in some parts of the country, while in others the very word, *kṣīra*, is used in the same sense.

L. 15

In T *vihitaḥ* is omitted.

L. 17

In T *samayas tvam* is once and *samayam aham* is omitted.

L. 18

Before *o āḥ hu** T seems to add *o** (or *ā**) *hu**. For *pāścād* T has *tataḥ* (*de nas*).

TRISAMAYARĀJASĀDHANA

OF

RATNĀKARAGUPTAPADA

Tibetan Version

DAM TSHIG GSUM GYI RGYAL POḤI SGRUB THABS

Tanjur, Rgyud ḡgrel, Du, LXXI ; Cordier, III, p, 20.¹

rgya gar skad du | tri sa ma ya rā ja sā dha nam | bod skad du |
dam tshig gasum gyi rgyal poḥi sgrub thabs ||
Saṅs rgyas dañ | byañ chub sems dpaḥ thams cad la phyag tshal lo ||

1

mī mñam ma gyo śin tu yañ dag chos kyi śñiñ |
śñiñ rjeḥi bdag ñid ḡgro ba rnams kyi sdug bsñal ḡjoms |
mñam med yon tan kun dañ dños grub ster mdzad pa |
dri med mī gyo mtshuñs med rab mchog chos rnams ni ||

2

nam mkhaḥ dañ mtshuñs de rnams dpe med yon tan gyi |
cha śas rdul phran gzegs nas kyañ ni mtshams med pa |
rtag tu sems can khams byed dños grub sbyin pa po |
dpe dañ bral zhiñ ma lus pa yi dños grub rnams ||

3

rtag tu dri med śñiñ rjeḥi śugs kyis lñas nas ni |
smon lam grub ciñ ḡgog pa med paḥi chos ñid do |
ḡgro baḥi don du sgrub thabs gzhan yañ mthaḥ med pa |
brtse ba chen poḥi bdag ñid rtag tu rnam par mdzes ||

1 The xylograph used here is of the Narthang edition and belongs to the Visvabharati Library, Santiniketan.

4

hgag med sn̄in rjeḥi spyod pa gyo ba med pa yis |
 h̄jig rten gsum bsgroñ¹ mchog gi dños grub sbyin paḥo |
 gzhal bya h̄jal byed dañ h̄bral legs par yoñs rdzogs sn̄in |
 kye ma chos ñid der h̄jug legs par khoñ du tshud ||

5

dam tshig gsum mchog dños grub mchog sbyin ster mdzod pa |
 sbyin paḥi mchog de bdag la rtag tu legs par gsol² |
 h̄jig rten gsum kun mchog sbyin mchog gi sgrub pa po |
 mgon po dus gsum ḡsegs rnams kun nas sgrib med pa ||

6

dam tshig gsum rgyal rtog par gsuñs |
 rdor h̄dzin glu dañ bstod pa byas |³
 de h̄dir sañs rgyas thams chad kyi |
 yon tan rgya chen phul du byuñ ||

7

lhan cig tsam du brjod pas kyañ |
 sn̄ags rten thams cad ñes par h̄grub |
 bstod paḥi h̄gyal po h̄di yis ni |
 de bzhin ḡsegs rnams ñes par mñes |

8

dños grub rgya chen ster par byed |
 rtog pa la gnas rtog las gsuñs |
 mgon po rnam par snañ mdzad che |⁴
 mi bskyod⁵ rin chen h̄byuñ ldan dañ ||

1 It is not intelligible to me. Is it *bsgreñ*? That the reading here is defective is evident from the fact that instead of eleven syllables in this line we have only ten.

2 According to Sanskrit *son* seems to have been the actual reading.

3 It appears that one should read the line thus: *rdo rje h̄dzin glu bstod pa byas*.

4 The word *che* should have been put, according to Sanskrit, after *mgon po*, as *mgon po che*, meaning *mahānātha*. In accordance with the reading as we have here the meaning is *nātha mahāvairocana*.

5 Generally for *akṣobhya* we have *ma bskyod*.

9

rgyal ba dag¹ la ḥod dpag med |
 don yod grub pa rgyal po kun |
 ro dañ ro bcuñ de ñid dañ |
 mchog tu ster bar mdzad pa ste ||

10

ma lus dños grub dag dañ ni |
 dgaḥ ba rgya chen phun tshogs gnas |
 bsam pa thams cad yoñs su gañ |
 yid kyi ḥdod pa yoñs su ster ||
 ye śes tshe dañ stobs kyi śugs |
 dge baḥi mchog rnams ster ba po ||

zhes so | de bzhin du bstod pa ḥdi rdo rjeḥi gur gyi brgyan pa rnal
 ḥbyor rgyud chen noḥi rjes su ḥbrañs nas brjod par byaḥo | zhes so ||
 sañs rgyas kun la phyag ḥtshal lo |

11

sañs rgyas sras kyi rañ bzhin dañ |
 dus gsum sañs rgyas phyag ḥtshal nas |
 ḥchad ḥgyur dam tshig cuñ zad rnams |
 dpal ldan dam tshing gsum las gsuñs ||

12

dam chos smad par mi bya zhiñ |
 gañ du hañ spañ bar mi byaḥo |
 rdzogs sañs rgyas dañ byañ chub sems |
 de rnams mi gus spañ bar bya ||

13

bla maḥi bkaḥ las ḥdaḥ mi bya |
 lus can rnams ni bsad mi bya |
 rañ gi sñags dañ phyag rgya yañ |
 don med pa dañ ñams mi bya ||

14

ser sna chañ gi btuñ ba ni |
 thams cad du yañ bya ba min |
 rdo rjeḥi rnam pa mi ḥgoñ zhiñ |
 bzaḥ bar bya baḥaṇ ma yin no ||

1 Read *dañ* (?).

15

khri yi steñ du mi ñal zhiñ |
 phyag rgya mi gus spañ bar bya |
 bla ma dañ ni lha rñams dañ |
 byis pañi chos ñid mi bya ho ||

16

mñon spyod bya ba ma yin zhiñ |
 tshul khrims ldan la smad mi bya |
 bya min bya ba mi bya zhiñ |
 sdig la rjes su yi rañ min ||

17

bdag gzhan rjes su mi mthun pañi |
 bya ba rñams ni spañ bar bya |
 rtog pa chen poñi dam tshig ñdi |
 dpal ldan dam tshig gsum las śes ||

18

ñtsho ba ñgyod bcas mi bya zhiñ |
 tshogs smra dgañ bas chog par bya |¹
 the tshom ñid du gyur pa dañ |
 yo byad yoñs su ñdzin pa dañ ||

19

le lo dañ ni zhum pañi sems |
 de bzhin bdag la bstod pa sogs |
 bar du gcod pañi chos rñams su |
 rtog pañi rgyal po ñid las gsuñs ||

ñes pa ñdi rñams las ñes par grol zhiñ | sñon du gsuñs pañi dam tshig
 la gnas nas | chags pa thams cad spañs te | dañ po dañ brtan pañi yañ
 dag pañi byañ chub kyis sems kyis ñgro ba gsum po la phan pa dañ ldan
 pañi lus dañ tshig² dañ yid rñams kyis byed pa dañ | dam tshig gsum
 las gsuñs pañi sgrub thabs kyis chags ñdod pañi dños grub du ñgyur ro ||

rin chen ñbyuñ gnas sbas pañi zhabs kyis mdzad pa |
 dam tshig gsum gyi rgyal poñi sgrub thabs rdzogs so ||

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1 As the sense requires read *dgañ ba mi chog bya* for *dgañ bas chog par bya*.

2 In the xylograph *dag*.

The Jānapada and the Paura

II

I shall now examine the evidences bearing on the political functions of the supposed *Jānapada* and *Paura* bodies.

As to having gold coins minted by the *Sauvarṇika* for the *Jānapada* association, it has already been shown (*IHQ.*, II, pp. 406 f.) that the inference is highly doubtful. The inference as to the joint session of the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies for the discussion of matters of importance, and the existence of the office of the *Jānapada* body at the capital rests wholly on imaginary grounds.

Mr. J. (p. 79) cites as an example of the joint session of the members of the *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies the assemblage of the *Pauras* and the *Jānapadas* at the court of king Daśaratha on the occasion of the declaration of Rāma as *Yuvarāja*. The gathering included however not merely the *Pauras* and *Jānapadas* i.e. the people of the capital and the country (and not members of the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies as Mr. J. supposes) but also the rulers of various kingdoms (*R.* II, 1, 45—*medinyāḥ pradhānān prthivīpatīn*) and the subjects of various territories (*prthag jānapadān api—R., loc. cit.*) The gathering was extremely motley and the *pauras* and the *jānapadas* are by no means given a very prominent place in the śloka in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which the presence of the different classes of people is mentioned (*R.*, II, 2, 19—*brāhmaṇā janamukhyāś ca paura-jānapadaiḥ saha*). They met in response to an invitation sent by king Daśaratha (*R.*, II, 1, 45) and not in answer to a notice formally issued by a convener associated with either of or both the supposed *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies. Certain passages also corroborate the inference that the princes and the *Brāhmaṇas* present there were given more prominence than the *pauras* and the *jānapadas* i.e. people of the *pura* and the *janapada* (*R.*, II, 2, 3—*uvāca nṛpatir nṛpān*; *ibid.*, II, 2, 17—*pratyanandan nṛpā nṛpam*; *ibid.*, II, 2, 24—*rājānaḥ saṁśayo'yaṁ me*). Moreover, it is evident from *R.* II, 1, 41 (*nīścītya sacivaiḥ sārḍhaṁ yuvarājam amanyatā*) that in consultation with ministers Daśaratha had already decided upon making Rāma his heir-apparent. The object of calling the people at large to his court was to make an announcement of his decision before them and to ascertain whether it met with their assent. It does

Nomination of
the Crown
Prince.

not come out from these facts that there existed the *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies with constitutional power to nominate an heir-apparent. I do not mean to say that in extreme cases of oppression, or on the failure of an heir to the throne, the people could not or did not actually make their opinion or will operative by dethroning a tyrannical ruler or by choosing the successor to the throne. What I intend to state is that the inference cannot be drawn that the selection of the heir-apparent was made by the supposed *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies at their joint session at the metropolis.

It may be mentioned in passing that Mr. J. (p. 81) is wrong in supposing that Daśaratha was somewhat surprised at their ready approval of the appointment of Rāma to the exclusion of his own self. As a matter of fact the king, by his query as to why the people assembled at his court were wanting to see his son appointed an heir-apparent, intended to have an express indication from them that they really liked Rāma and were not agreeing to the nomination only because the king desired it.

From the remarks already made (*IHQ.*, II, p. 401) it will be apparent that the term *vyādhas* referred to at p. 82 of the *Hindu Polity* does not necessarily mean the aldermen of a corporate body.

The *Mṛcchakatīka* contains no evidence by which the existence of the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies or their constitutional power to depose a king can be proved. The king Pālaka is murdered by Āryaka, a milkman, with the help of his friend Śarvilaka in fulfilment of a prophesy. In the commission of this murder either Āryaka or his friend does not enter into conspiracy with others, not to speak of what Mr. J. calls the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies. There is nothing to show in the drama that the king was oppressive though no doubt his brother-in-law Saṁsthānaka acted in a high-handed manner. The arrest of Cārudatta was brought about by this relation of the king out of personal grudge because the former proved to be an obstacle in the way of the latter in his attempt to secure the love of Vasantasenā. The judge who tried Cārudatta was led to believe that he was guilty partly by the force of circumstances and partly by the false evidences adduced at the court. All these show clearly that Cārudatta was not a victim of the king's mal-administration. However, the king was murdered only because he incurred the displeasure of Śarvilaka by putting in jail his friend Āryaka, who according to the prophesy was to have been the successor to the throne. The supposed *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies had nothing to do

The *Mṛcchakatīka* misinterpreted.

with the murder of the king, and they cannot be credited with any constitutional power.

Three wrong statements in this connection require correction :

(1) Cārudatta has been called the president of the commercial union by Mr. J. Cārudatta was a Brahmin merchant (śreṣṭhin), but there is nothing in the drama to show that he was a president of the union of merchants.

(2) It is not a fact that 'the brother of the deposed king who established confidence among the *Pauras* obtained sovereignty.' It was Āryaka, a milkman, who obtained sovereignty and evidently he had no relationship with the king, and the man who consoled the *pauras* was Śarvilaka, the friend of the person who obtained sovereignty.

(3) *Jānapadasamavāya* refers, in the *Mṛcchakatika*, to the crowd that assembled on the occasion of the intended execution of Cārudatta, and not to the corporate association of the *Jānapada* as has been supposed. It has been stated by Mr. J. that this *samavāya* was shortly after addressed as the *Pauras*. This however is not a fact. The text on which he relies has been put as *Paurū vābūdedha, kiṃ-nimittam pādakī jīvaviadi* (*Pauras*, Kill him, why should the wretch be allowed to live) while the text should be *Paurāḥ—Vābūdedha, kiṃ-nimittam pādakī jīvaviadi* (Voices of citizens : kill him). This text is found in both the Nirnay Sagar and Jibānanda Vidyāsāgar's editions, and the former has been followed in the English translation of the *Mṛcchakatika* in the Harvard Oriental Series. Moreover for reasons already stated, the 'Pauras' cannot mean 'members of the Paura body.'

As regards the evidence of the *Mahāvamśa* (IV, 1-6) that after four kings had successively usurped the throne by slaying their fathers the citizens (nāgarāḥ) banished the reigning parricide installing in his place his minister Śiśunāga. There is nothing in it to show that the *nāgaras* constituted a corporate body. Though the word *paura* has not been mentioned in the passage in the *Mahāvamśa*, Mr. J. says, "there again the *Pauras* stand for the *Pauras* and the *Jānapadas*."

The significance of the passage in the *Daśakumāracarita* (ch. III—*Anujāḥ punar atibahavaḥ tair api ghaṭante paura-jānapadāḥ*) has been missed by Mr. J. There is a story in the *Daśakumāracarita* (ch. III) that Vikatavarman, a nephew of Prahāvarman, the king of Mithilā rose in rebellion against the king while the latter was away from his kingdom. The throne was usurped and Prahāvarman was put in jail. In course of time his son Upahāvarman whose identity was, by an

accident, known neither to himself nor to the people came to know that the dethroned king was his father and resolved to take revenge. He slew the usurper and regained the throne for his father. While devising means for the murder of Vikaṭavarman, he remarked that it would be easy to approach and kill the usurper as he has many brothers who mix with the people (Śakyaś ca mayā asau Vikaṭavarmā yathākathañcid upaśliṣya vyāpādayitum, anujāḥ punar atibahavaḥ tair api ghaṭante paura-jānapadāḥ). On the basis of this remark Mr. J. infers that (p. 83) "in the *Daśakumāracarita* (ch. III) the *Pauras* and the *Jānapadas* are said to be friendly to the brothers of the king ; it is therefore feared by the speaker that they are bound to succeed the king if the latter dies." But there is nothing in the text expressing the 'fear' of the 'speaker' that owing to the friendship of the king's brothers with the *Pauras* and *Jānapadas*, the brothers were 'bound to succeed the king.' Further, had there been in the passage in the *Daśakumāracarita* any indication of the great power of the supposed *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies, it would have been wielded either on the occasion of the dethronement of Prahāravarmaṇ or the murder of the usurper. Such powerful bodies could not have remained indifferent on such important occasions.

Mr. J. (p. 84) has quoted from the *Arthaśāstra* (I, XIII) some passages, characterising them as 'samples of discussion in the assemblies of the *Paura* and the *Jānapada*'. He finds in the expression *tīrtha-sabhā-śālā-pūga-janasamavāyeṣu* a reference to (1) the *tīrthā-sabhā-śālāsamavāya* or the sectional sub-assembly of the *Paura* in charge of the sacred places and public buildings, (2) the *Pūgasamavāya* or the sub-assembly in charge of trade and manufacture, and (3) the *janasamavāya* or the popular assembly. But such an interpretation cannot be put on the passage in view of apparent grammatical difficulty. Moreover as Kauṭilya mentions (II, 35) *tīrthāyatana* as a place to which spies may conveniently be sent for getting information, *tīrtha* should be taken as a separate entity and each of the terms *sabhā*, *śālā*, *pūga* and *janasamavāya* should be taken separately. There are other difficulties in accepting Mr. J's interpretation. The term *pūga* by itself means guild and need not be tagged on to *samavāya*. Again if the *tīrthā-samavāya* etc. were corporate bodies, it would not have been possible for the secret agents of the government, outsiders as they were, to take part in the discussions held by those bodies.

While discussing the qualifications of men who should be consulted

by the king, the *Mahābhārata* (śānti, 83, 45) says that one in whom the *paura* and the *jānapada* repose confidence for his righteous conduct deserves to be consulted (tasmai mantrah prayoktavyah). This does not certainly prove that the supposed *Paura* and *Jānapada* bodies had a hand in the appointment of the chief Mantrin.

Paura-jānapada and the appointment of the chief minister.

The words *rāṣṭra* and *rāṣṭriya* mentioned in the *Mbh.* (śānti, 85, 12) have been taken by Mr. J. (p. 85) as the *jānapada* body and its President respectively. In the verse referred to above, Mr. J. finds a reference to the important procedure of submitting the cabinet resolutions on state policy to the supposed *jānapada* body. But a few lines further on, the word *rāṣṭra* has been used in the *Mbh.* in the sense of a 'kingdom' (*vidhrave caiva rāṣṭram te syenāt pakṣigaṇā iva i. e.* thy kingdom will vanish as birds flee away before a hawk.—Śānti, 85, 14). The term *rāṣṭriya* should be rendered by the word governor. In the inscription of Rudradāman (*E. I.*, Lüder's list, 965), Puṣyagupta, the provincial governor of Candragupta has been called *rāṣṭriya*. Thus the meaning of the verse mentioned above would be: The result of the deliberations of the king and his ministers should be reported to to the governor (*rāṣṭriyāya ca darśayet*) and made known to the people in the kingdom (*sampreṣayed rāṣṭre*).

Mr. J. says (p. 85) that "the tenure of ministers depended to a considerable extent on the good will and the confidence of the *Paura-jānapada*". But it cannot be shown from the text of the inscription (Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 60) mentioned in this connection that the *pauras* and the *jānapadas* were other than the citizens of the town and the country.

Paura-jānapada and tenure of offices of ministers.

It is very natural that the king while appointing a minister should carefully consider the qualifications of the candidate. It is also recorded in the inscription that the king while selecting Prāṇadatta as his minister found among his other qualifications that he was devoted to the welfare of mankind (*sarvasya lokasya hite niyuktaḥ*—p. 60, l. 6). Prāṇadatta again finding his son Cakrapālita most qualified and 'beloved of the people' (*priyo janasya*—p. 61, l. 11) appointed him as the governor of a province. No doubt there is in the inscription a reference to the minister coaxing the citizens (*lālayāmāsa ca pauravargān*) but this does not prove that he did so because the *pauras* as members of the supposed *paura* body had any hand in the appointment of ministers. Mr. J. (p. 86) has misunderstood the meaning of the following passage of the inscription—*nagaram api ca bhūyāt viddhimatpaura-*

justam—and has translated it thus: “May the Capital prosper and be *loyal to the Paura*.” The correct translation would be either ‘may the city prosper and be full of inhabitants’ (Fleet) ‘or may the city be inhabited by prosperous citizens.’

As to the evidence of the *Divyāvadāna*, it has already been shown (*I. H. Q.*, II, p. 398) that the existence of a *Paura* body in a presidency capital cannot be established on the strength of the passage.

A wrong interpretation of the following sentence in the Kalinga Separate Edict of Asoka has led Mr. J. to think that it refers to the ‘sudden excitement of the *pauras*.’ *Etāye aṭhāye iyaṃ lipi likhita hida ena nagalaviyohūlakā sasvatam yujevū ti nagalajanasa akasmā palibōḥi va akasmā palikilese va no sū ti*. (“For this purpose has this scripture been here inscribed in order that the administrators of the town may strive without ceasing *that the restraint or torture of the townsmen may not take place without due cause*”). Here ‘*nagalajanasa*’ means the ‘townsmen’ and not the *paura* body, while the portion of the sentence following the word signifies ‘the restraint or torture of the townsmen without cause,’ as evidently the edict was inscribed to remind the officials of their responsibilities to the people and to guide them by instructions conveyed through it.

According to the *Arthaśāstra* (V, 2), the king, in times of financial trouble, should approach his subjects with a demand of money (*paura-jānapadān bhikṣeta*). Mr. J. (p. 88) infers from the use of the word *paura-jānapada* that the proposals for taxation were first submitted to the supposed *Paura-Jānapada* body and the king had to beg of that body the taxes.

But from the nature of the recommendation as to the different methods of approaching different individuals or groups of individuals *e. g.* cultivators, merchants, herdsmen, and from the prescribed activities of the king’s agents in connection with the realisation of money, it is evident that the king had not to encounter any check from the supposed *Paura-jānapada* body on his authority for imposing taxes on the people. Spies in disguise, for instance, were employed to revile those who paid small amounts (*Arthaśāstra*, V, 2—*Kapaṭikāś cainān alpam prayacchataḥ kutsayeyuh*). By causing a false panic that an evil spirit demanding the sacrifice of human beings had arrived on a certain tree, the king’s agents under the guise of ascetics were to collect money from the people (*Paura-Jānapada*) on the pretext of propitiating the evil spirit (*Arthaśāstra*, V, 2). These are certainly not the methods

which can be considered approximations to the supposed procedure of submitting proposals for taxation to the imagined *Paura-jānapada* bodies. The word *jānapada* in passages like *jānapadam mahāntam alpāpramāṇam vā devamūṛṅgam yāceta* (*Artha.*, V, 2) surely refers to the country i. e. the people of the country and not to any corporate body. The word *yāceta* and *bhikṣeta* are only polite terms signifying demanding money from the subjects and does not necessarily imply subordination of the king's position to the *paura-jānapada*.

Mr. J. remarks (p. 89 f. n.) that in the passage in the *Arthasūtra* (xii, 2—*bahulibhūte tikṣṇāḥ paurān niśāsvāhārayeyuh*) *bahulibhūte* should be compared with the pāli word *sambhūla* denoting the holding of a meeting to decide a matter by the vote of the majority. But *bahulibhūta* in Sanskrit means 'spread' and it has been so explained in the commentary on the *Arthasūtra*,—the *Nayacandrikā* (p. 218—*athāsmiṇ pravāde prathite*). Instead of comparing it with a similar pāli word we should try to find out its meaning from the uses of the identical Sanskrit word in different contexts e. g. in the *Kaṭhāsaritsāgara* 24, 211 ; *Raghuvamśa*, 14, 38 where it means 'spread' in reference to news or rumour.

On the basis of the Rudradāman inscription, Mr. J. states (p. 89) that when the cabinet of ministers refused to grant money for the repair of the Sudarśana lake in view of its enormous size, he did it from *svakośa* i. e. his private purse ; and the statement in the inscription that the king supplied the money without oppressing the *paura-jānapada-jana* has been taken to imply that if a fresh tax had been imposed on the people for the purpose, he would have had to obtain the sanction of the *Paura-jānapada* body.

The whole position has, I think, been misunderstood. The ministers did not advise the undertaking of the repair of the lake because they were frightened by the enormity of the work, while the king was more optimistic and therefore he undertook the work inspite of reluctance of the ministers to do so. The king spent the money from the treasury which could well be called his *svakośa*. This view has been taken by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji and Dr. Bühler in their translation of the passage : "he the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman for the sake of a thousand years, for the sake of.....cows and Brahmans, and for the increase of his merit and fame, has rebuilt the embankment three times stronger in breadth and length, in a not very long time, expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and the province by (exacting) taxes....."

The inference that the king could have had the money by having the proposal for the imposition of a fresh tax sanctioned at the joint session of the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* bodies has no grounds to support it.

Mr. J. (p. 90) has quoted passages from the Mbh. (śānti, 87) in which, in his opinion, 'the method of securing a majority in the assembly of the *Jānapada* (for obtaining a grant) is given, proving the legal power and authority of the *Paura-Jānapada*.' In reality, in the chapter, Bhīṣma while describing how a kingdom may be consolidated, refers to the considerations that should weigh with the king and the methods that might be adopted by him in the realisation of taxes from his subjects. There is no reference in these passages to the existence of any assembly. In the following śloka the king has been advised to show compassion to poor subjects (*paura-jānapadān*) whether they depend upon him immediately (*saṁśrita*) or mediately (*upāśrita*) and to see that those who live in the outskirts of his kingdom (*bāhya jana*) are kept in check while those who live within the country are given advantages (*bhoktavyo madhyamaḥ sukham*).

Paurājānapadān sarvānsaṁśritopāśritāms tathā,
yathāśaktyanukampeta sarvān svalpadhanān api,
bāhyaṁ janaṁ bhedayitvā bhoktavyo madhyamaḥ sukham,
evaṁ nāsyā prakupyanti janāḥ sukhitaduḥkhitāḥ.

The expression *paura-jānapada* has been as usual taken by Mr. J. to mean the members of the supposed *paura-jānapada* body. He translates the passage thus (p. 90): "All the *Paura-jānapada* (i. e. all the members), those in session (*saṁśrita*), as well as those taking ease (*upāśrita*), i. e. every one of them should be shown (royal) sympathy, even those who are not rich. Dissension should be created in the Outer (*bāhya*) body of theirs, and then the Middle body to be well (or comfortably) won over ('bribed,' 'entertained'). The king thus acting, the people will not be excited and disappointed whether they feel (the burden) easy or heavy." This rendering is extremely misleading. *Samśrita* and *upāśrita* have been translated arbitrarily as 'members in session' and 'members taking ease': Nīlakaṇṭha explains them thus: *saṁśritāḥ sākṣīd āśritāḥ* (dependent directly), *upāśritāḥ vyavahitāḥ* (dependent mediately). As to the words *bāhya* and *madhyama* (*ābhyantara*) we have already pointed out (*IHQ.*, II, p. 400) that they cannot be taken as the Outer Body and the Inner Body of the supposed *Paura* assembly. The śloka which in the opinion of Mr. J. refers to

Royal speech
to the Paura-
Jānapada.

the address from the throne begging extra taxes from the *Paura-jānapada* is this :

Prag eva tu dhanādānam anubhāṣya tataḥ punaḥ,
sannipatya svaviṣaye bhayam rāṣṭre pradarśayet. (Śānti, 87, 26).

Mr. J. translates it thus : "Then before money demand is made, the king going to them, and addressing by a speech should point out to the *rāṣṭra* (*jānapada*) the danger to his country." I do not see the reason why the word *rāṣṭra* which has been translated by the term 'realm' in the same context (*H. P.*, p. 92, line 9) should be taken here as the *jānapada* (assembly). Moreover, there is nothing in the text corresponding to the words 'to them' after the word 'going' in the translation. The whole piece of translation (*H. P.*, pp. 90-92) of the Mbh. passage made by Mr. J. is full of inaccuracies. The śloka really mean that the king should first of all make a proclamation of his desire for levying taxes (*prāg eva tu dhanādānam anubhāṣya*) and should point out to the people in his realm the danger (threatening) his kingdom (*bhayam rāṣṭre pradarśayet*). It is the king's agents (*raśmi*) who are to be sent to the various parts of the kingdom with this message to be communicated to the subjects and this message has been mistaken as the king's speech to an assembly. In connection with the passages in which privileges (*anugraha*) have been conferred on or demanded by the people (*paura-jānapada*) Mr. J. has always interpreted the expression *paura-jānapada* as the *paura* and the *jānapada* bodies while for the reasons already stated, the citizens of the town and the country should be the real signification.

As already pointed out (*IHQ.*, II, p. 388) the terms *poram* and *jānapadam* in the Khāravela Inscription can well signify simply

'the people of the town' and 'the people of the country.'

The Paura-jānapada and anugrahas.

Paura-jānapada mentioned in the *Arthasāstra* (II, 1) in a similar way bears the same meaning. If there existed the *Paura-jānapada* bodies with extensive constitutional

powers, they would not have been so helpless as to express their readiness to migrate to a different country if their prayers were not granted by the king (*niranugrahāḥ paratra gacchāmaḥ*—*Arthasāstra* xiii, 1). Mr. J. (93) wants this passage to be read in the light of śloka 36 of Bk. II of Yājñavalkya "enjoining that the king must pay to the *Jānapada* (in the singular) compensation for loss caused by thieves." The significance of Mr. J's remark is not apparent. The injunction that the property lost by theft should be made good from the king's treasury has nothing to do with the *Jānapada* body because *jānapada* in the

singular refers here to the individual who has sustained loss caused by thieves. The rule of Gautama is explicit on this point: "Having recovered property stolen by thieves, he shall return it to owner, or (if stolen property is not recovered) he shall pay (its value) out of his treasury."

The reference to the *jānapada jana* in Aśoka Pillar Edict IV and in Rudradāman Inscription has also been taken as meaning the *jānapada* body without any ground.

The *Dīgha Nikāya* (Kūṭadanta Sutta, 12) has been cited by Mr. J. to prove that there existed "the constitutional practice of the king's approaching the Jānapada and the Naigama or Paura for a fresh tax when he intended to undertake a big sacrifice." The text, however, does not in fact support the statement. King Dighadanta expresses to his Purohita the desire of performing a great sacrifice and asks for his instruction in the matter (Icchāmi' aham brāhmaṇa mahāyaññaṇi yajitum, anusāsatu maṃ bhavaṃ—Kūṭadanta Sutta, 10). The Purohita anticipating that it will involve the expenditure of money to be realised from the people replied that as the kingdom was in disorder it will be wrong to levy taxes from the people (sakaṇṭake janapade saupapīḷe balim uddhareyya, akiccakārī assa tena bhavaṃ rājā, Ibid., 11). Thereupon the king gives food and corn to those who devote themselves to keeping cattle and farm; capital to those who devote themselves to trade; wages and food to those who devote themselves to government service; and thus when the disorder is at an end, and the king's revenue goes up (mahā ca rañño rāsiko ahosi) he invites Kṣatriyas and ministers and Brāhmaṇas and householders either in the country or in the towns' (negamā c' eva jānapadā ca), and making known to them his intention of offering a sacrifice asks their opinion on the matter. The four classes of people mentioned above viz. the Kṣatriyas, ministers, Brāhmaṇas and householders of the town and the country (1. khattiyā anunyuttā negamā c' eva jānapadā ca, 2. amccā pārisajjā negamā c' eva jānapadā ca, 3. brāhmaṇā mahāsālā negamā c' eva jānapadā ca, 4. gahapatinecayikā negamā c' eva jānapadā ca) replied "Let his majesty the king celebrate the sacrifice." The king does not here ask for a fresh tax nor does he approach the imagined *Paura* or the *Jānapada* body. He invites only the influential citizens from the town (negama) and the country (janapada) and asks their consent in the matter of celebrating a great sacrifice. This too does not prove it to be a constitutional practice. Had it been so, the king himself independ

The permission of the paura-jānapada to undertake a sacrifice.

ent of the instruction of his Purohita could have followed it. The terms *negama* and *jānapada* quoted above have been paraphrased in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* (P.T.S., vol. I, p. 297) as *nigamavāsino* and *janapadavāsino* respectively.

The *Arthaśāstra* marks out a period in the king's daily routine of work for the disposal of business relating to the *paura-jānapada* (*H. P.*, p. 95). From this Mr. J's inference is that there existed the *Paura-jānapada* bodies. But the expression 'Paura-Jānapada' simply means the people of the town and the people of the country. It is not at all extraordinary that the king has been directed in the *Arthaśāstra* to devote a period of the day exclusively to disposal of

Daily business
of the Paura-
jānapada with
the king.

business pertaining to his subjects. The reason for the making of such an arrangement is thus given by Kauṭilya. "For when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate

officers, he is sure to engender confusion in business and to cause thereby public disaffection (*prakṛtikopa*), and makes himself a prey to his enemies. He should therefore personally attend to the business of the gods, of heretics, of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted and the helpless, and of women." Cf. Aśoka's Rock Edict, VI (Girnār): "So by me the arrangement has been made that at the times when I am eating, or in the ladies' apartment, or in my private room, or in the mews, or in my conveyance, or in the pleasure-gardens, everywhere the persons appointed to give information should keep me informed of the affairs of the people" (athe me janasa paṭivedetha iti).

Mr. J. (p. 96) remarks that Aśoka sought countenance from the Jānapada body for the propagation of his Dharma. The text in

The Jānapada
in the Aśoka
inscription.

the inscription (Rock Edict, VIII, Girnār) on which he relies is *jānapadas ca janasa dasanam dhammūnusastī ca dhamaparipucchā ca*. Here *jānapadasa janasa* has been, as previously, taken as a corporate body to which

there is the same objection as what has been repeated several times before.

The word *jānapadāḥ* in the Vāmadevagītā in the *Mbh.*, Śānti (91, 24) has been taken to mean the Jānapada body but without any good ground. In the preceding chapter viz. the Utathyagita (ch. 91, 23), there is a reference to the chance of the Jānapadas being reduced to poverty and taking to the collection of alms as the means of livelihood. This does not fit in with Mr. J's statement (p. 99) that "the members of

the Jānapada as well as of the Paura were generally rich people. And those who were not rich were not poor either."

As to the Pauras administering relief to the poor and the helpless in the capital (*H. P.*, p. 98), I have already pointed out (*IHQ.*, II, p. 491) that such works had no connection with the supposed Paura body.

The statement that the method "by which the Paura-Jānapada made the government of a misbehaving king difficult was that the offended Paura and Jānapada would make out a bill and present it to the king to make good all the losses sustained in the kingdom by thefts, dacoities, and the like lawlessness" rests wholly on imaginary grounds.

From the fact that losses caused by thefts had to be made good from the king's treasury, it cannot be established that the supposed Paura-Jānapada bodies had anything to do with the matter. It has already been shown on the strength of a sūtra from Gautama Dharmaśāstra (X, 46) that the stolen property if not recovered had to be made good out of the king's treasury by payment of its value to the owner and not to any corporate body.

In ascertaining the nature of the composition of the Jānapada body Mr. J. (p. 100) has relied on the Daśakumāracarita (ch. III) and the Digha Nikāya (Kūṭadanta Sutta, 12). It has been shown already (*IHQ.*, II, p. 395) that the passage in the Daśakumāracarita contains no reference to the supposed Jānapada body, while the word jānapadā in the Digha Nikāya (Kūṭ., 12) refers to the people living in the country.

Writing on the composition of the imagined paura body, Mr. J. (pp. 102f.) has brought together the conclusions at which he has arrived as the result of his reasonings in the previous portions of the two chapters under review. I have examined each of the conclusions and have found that none of them are sound considering the data upon which they stand. Mr. J. has however made in this connection one or two remarks which require examination: (1) The statement that the word *mukhya* or *śreṣṭha* means 'chief' or 'president' of a board is not correct. Any important individual may well be signified by the term. (2) Mr. J. looks upon Candanadāsa the friend of Nanda's minister in the *Mudrārākṣasa* as 'president of the Jewellers' Association' because he has been called *maṇikūraśreṣṭhin*. The word *śreṣṭhin* is applicable to an ordinary merchant and so it is not proper to regard him as the president of an

Association. The conversation that took place between Cāṇakya and Candanadāsa does not show that the latter was speaking for the whole country in his representative capacity. Questioned by Cāṇakya as to whether the subjects were satisfied with the new régime Candanadāsa replied in the affirmative. On hearing this, Cāṇakya remarked that for the good administration, the kings expect something from the subjects in return. At this Candanadāsa asked how much he will have to pay personally (*imūdo janūdo*). Here there is nothing that can be interpreted as spoken by Candanadāsa as the representative of the whole country. (3) It is remarked by Mr. J. (p. 103) that "in the *Daśakumāracarita* (ch. iii), out of the two *Pauramukhyas* one is the president of merchants dealing with the foreign trade only." As a matter of fact mention has been made of two *pauravṛddhas*, one of whom was a merchant (*sārthavāha*). From his promise to procure for the king a precious stone from a Yavana at a nominal price, Mr. J. jumps to the conclusion that he was the "president of merchants dealing with the foreign trade only."

Mr. J. has tried towards the end of the chapter to have confirmation of his conclusions from the legends of the seals discovered at Basarh. They may have connection with trade guilds but certainly not with what he has described as the Paura and the Jānapada bodies.

I have now finished the examination of the evidences collected in the two chapters XXVII and XXVIII, the former dealing with the direct evidences as to the existence of the Paura-Jānapada bodies and the latter with the indirect. In both the chapters there is not a single piece of evidence that can stand scrutiny.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar and the "New Machiavelli"

Mr. Sarkar is nothing if he is not a cosmopolitan. In fact he has made cosmopolitanism quite a fashionable thing in our Indian journalism. In his latest journalistic excursion,¹ in course of which Mr. Sarkar surveys the works of a few Indian "antiquarians" like Dr. Ghosal and my humble self, he seems to be quite scandalised to find that

¹ Hindu Politics in Italian. Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1926.

though pretending to write on the "Political" or the "Diplomatic" theories of ancient India we do not see eye to eye with him by accepting Kauṭilya as the half-brother (May the great Brahmin politician pardon me for using the expression) of Machiavelli—Mr. Sarkar's latest. Dr. Ghosal has replied in length and with a certain amount of warmth. But as I was more amused than annoyed at the inevitable sermonising of Mr. Sarkar, I shall be very brief in my reply to his charges which I consider as "*pleasantries academiques*" *a la française*.

I had the misfortune to use the name of Machiavelli only once in my thesis (p. 112) and that condemned me to see my humble antiquarian book in the analytical laboratory of Mr. Sarkar a champion-specialist of neo-Machiavellism. "You say your Kauṭilya is pretty far removed from Machiavelli? Well what is there in Kauṭilya that you don't find in my Machiavelli?" So Mr. Sarkar seems to challenge me and quotes approvingly Mr. Winternitz (Calcutta Review, April 1924) who considers that the designation of Kauṭilya as the "Indian Machiavelli" is perfectly justified because (as Dr. Winternitz had opined while reviewing my thesis in the Viśvabhāratī Quarterly, Oct. 1923) "both of them teach political methods from an *amoralistic point of view*."

With due courtesies to Dr. Winternitz and Mr. Sarkar I beg to differ. The importation of the new-fangled concept of 'amoralism' and ascribing the same to Kauṭilya might have raised the Hindu politician in the estimation of Mr. Sarkar and other champions of modernism in politics but it had blinded them to the fact that *Dharma* (both in its abstract sense of *morality* and in its concrete sense of *ethico-legal code*) is one of the very postulates of the political philosophy of ancient India and one of the categorical imperatives of Hindu scholastic consciousness. The history of this organic interaction of the *sacred* and the *secular* elements in Hindu politics, of this intimate relation between the school of *Dharma* and the school of *Artha*, which is the differentia of Hindu political evolution, had been sketched by me in the first half of my book which Mr. Sarkar disposes of summarily as "literary history," "altogether archeological and antiquarian in character."

If Mr. Sarkar could cry halt for a while to his 'historico-comparative' imagination and cared to notice the references deposited by me in between the lines, he might have discovered that I tried to place, if not the elusive personality of Kauṭilya, at least the *Arthasāstra* attributed to him, in its historical and academic background. I have shown how it is impossible to understand and appreciate fully many

things of the Arthaśāstra if we stop referring it constantly to the enormous mass of ethico-legal literature represented by the Mahābhārata, the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras. I am glad to notice since my return from Europe that the superficial theory of 'amoralism' ascribed to Kauṭilya by Winternitz had been ably combatted by the learned criticism of Dr. Narendra Nath Law (vide Calcutta Review, Sep. 1924). I draw the attention of Mr. Sarkar to another able rejoinder to the *amoral* theory from the pen of Mr. V. R. Dikshitar M.A., (vide "Is Arthaśāstra Secular?"—Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924). Mr. Dikshitar has shown conclusively that far from being anticlerical, Kauṭilya assigns a high place to the Purohita as one of the chief ministers of the sovereign, who should follow the Purohita "as a disciple his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master." No doubt Kauṭilya like Manu (viii 335) prescribes punishment of the Purohita whenever he transgresses his svadharma and is found guilty of treason. But that is because Kauṭilya is the champion of justice and State-ethics (Dharmanyāya). In Arthaśāstra III (p. 147-151) we read :

"If the sacred text is in conflict with Sacred Equity or State-Ethics (Dharmanyāya) then the latter would prevail and the citation of texts would be useless."

Mr. Sarkar would immediately turn round and say, as he had said, that his contention about Kauṭilya as the champion of the "secularisation of the state" like Machiavelli is proved. But we would simply ask what about the process and the character of secularisation?—Are they of the same order in the case of Kauṭilya and that of Machiavelli. To assert perfect identity and parallelism would mean ignoring the differences between the political evolution of ancient India and of Mediæval Italy. Mr. Sarkar is ever speaking about the "cultural" and the "sociological" perspective. But what about the "*historical*" perspective? Mr. Sarkar's marvellous cosmopolitanism scorns the uncomfortable limitations of time and space. In his eagerness to prove Kauṭilya as a champion of up-to-date *Realpolitiker* he does not hesitate to rob the Brahmin politician of his specific Indian character and to identify his attitude with that of the Italian politician separated from him by over a millennium! I have no prejudice against Machiavelli. I consider him to be a great figure in the history of European politics. But I maintained, as I maintain now, that the pronouncement of the magic formula: "Kauṭilya the Indian Machiavelli" does not mean much historically and that the comparison is superficial,

Mr. Sarkar is upset by another great heresy in my book : I ventured to suggest that there is some psychological explanation of the neglect of the Arthaśāstra by the successors of Kauṭilya. It seems to me (I am open to correction) that there is a tendency in Hindu mind to avoid the real and to indulge in the sublimation of the *real* into the *ideal*. This tendency to moralise, to idealise is at least as much a part of Hindu psychology as the so-called "realistic" spirit discovered by Mr. Sarkar. Whether it is convenient or agreeable for modern up-to-date politicians like Mr. Sarkar to admit it is a different question. But the whole world of scholars had admitted it. Mr. Sarkar may go on shouting at the top of his voice that the Hindus were very great in "exact sciences", that their achievements in politics were phenomenal as we find in the Maurya-Gupta-Chola experiments—yet very few, except the blind admirers of Mr. Sarkar, would assert that, as *representative* achievements of the Hindus in human history, their politics was superior to their philosophy or that their Kauṭilya profounder than their Kapila, or their Samudra Gupta superior to their Aśoka.

Leaving Mr. Sarkar free to advertise India as the most up-to-date nation with its galaxy of "Indian Machiavelli", "Indian Bismark" and "Indian Napoleon" (it is a pity to remark *en passant* that in these brilliant christening affairs Mr. Sarkar is not original ; he has been anticipated by Prof. Hermann Jacobi, Dr. Vincent Smith and others)—I beg to affirm that the fatal confusion between the problem of the *personality* of the Kauṭilya Chanakya and that of the *evolution* of the Arthaśāstra has produced deplorable results in the field of dispassionate historical studies. We are so furiously eager to prove the extant treatise "Arthaśāstra" as a Maurya "Imperial Gazetteer" that we have practically forgotten to read the book as a whole and to analyse its positive contents. Mr. Sarkar disputes that the *Arthaśāstra* was neglected, that its theoretical and academic development continued unimpaired during the succeeding centuries, that the progressive *denudation* of the positive parts of the śāstra as I have attempted to demonstrate was not a fact, so I have the right to ask Mr. Sarkar to produce the developed, amplified and improved editions of the Arthaśāstra from the *Imprimeries Imperiales* of Samudragupta, Rajendra Chola and other champion-representatives of Indian culture recently discovered by Mr. Sarkar.

Coining a catch phrase is unfortunately not synonymous with the finding of facts. The comparison between Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa on

the one hand and Livy and Virgil, Cromwell and Milton on the other, may elicit gaping wonder from the American audience, but to sober historians it is nothing but a journalistic flourish. We know that the age of specialisation represented by our *sūtra-śāstra* strata was followed by an age of "vulgarisation" (in the French sense) during which we get only metrical summaries of learned treatises. Who would venture to assert in the face of the facts relating to textual study of Hindu scholasticism that Pāṇini, Patañjali and Kauṭilya were not improved upon by their successors? Law is probably the only important faculty which went on progressing and I have shown how in the conflict between the Dharmaśāstra and the Arthaśāstra the former triumphed and finished by assimilating and even misappropriating a great part of the Arthaśāstra. That is why we are now obliged to reconstruct the science of Artha by placing together the different items of the Arthaśāstra dispersed in the body of legal or literary commentaries. That is also the reason why in spite of the marvellous realistic spirit of the Hindus, the book Arthaśāstra was almost lost to us and Mr. Sarkar had to postpone his sermon on the Hindu *Realpolitiker* till the recovery of the book by Pandit Sham Sastri.

I fully appreciate Mr. Sarkar's enthusiasm for the Arthaśāstra and other positive sciences of the Ancient Hindus testifying to their *realistic* sense; I only beg to request him not to lose the sense of proportion. "We were as great in exact sciences as the Europeans"—sort of attitude is tolerable in school boys but it appears *un peu drole* in the field of scholarship. Mr. Sarkar may be the incarnation of the *zeit geit* (time spirit) obliged to interpret *consistently* the *ānūkarathavartmanam* of Kālidāsa as testifying to the existence of Gupta aerial fleet, or the works of Samudragupta and Kauṭilya as the works of Indian Napoleon and Indian Machiavelli, but he should not forget that humble "antiquarians" like us have also the right to be 'inconsistent' and to point out occasionally the lapses and weaknesses of the Hindu people and not simply the *consistent* history of their uninterrupted progress.

Lastly, under the inspiration of Mr. Sarkar I feel tempted to dogmatise a little and say that however much we may boast of our Indian Machiavellis and Indian Napoleons, Humanity, I am afraid, would not evaluate Indian civilisation according to the *achievements* of Kauṭilya or Samudragupta, but with reference to the *ideals* of Buddha and Aśoka, Saṅkarācārya and Rāmānuja.

Rohitāgiri of the Rāmpāl Copper-plate

In the June issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (pp. 313-342) Mr. Haridas Mitra has published an article on the unfinished Kedārpur copper-plate of Śricandradeva, for a critical edition of which, scholars are already indebted to Mr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum. Mr. Bhattasali first published a tentative reading of the text in the Bengali Journal *Pratibhā* (1326 B. S.) and later on (October, 1923) edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVII, pp. 188-92.¹ It is most amusing to notice that Mr. Mitra has taken great pains to criticise the tentative readings given in Mr. Bhattasali's Bengali article and suggested textual emendations some of which are exactly those proposed by Mr. Bhattasali himself in the *Epigraphica* (as for instance, verse 3 : नाप्रौ विमुद्धो etc.).

Mr. Mitra's article contains statements unsupported by facts. One of these relates to the Rāmpāl copper-plate of Śricandra. Verse 2 of this copper-plate says that the Candras belonged to a family which originally ruled over 'Rohitāgiri.' The last letter of the word does not, however, occur in the original but is supplied by Prof. R. G. Basak (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 138). Mr. Mitra finds himself unable to accept this reading and doubts whether Rohitāgiri could represent the actual form of the place name (*op. cit.*, p. 317 and p. 318). He observes that the metre of the verse being Śārdūlavikrīḍita the 3rd letter *tā* of the word, which is the 8th letter of the *pāda*, had perforce to be made 'long' and the 9th and 10th letters to be made 'short'. "It is not therefore certain," says he, "if the restoration should be रोहितानिरि." Probably Mr. Mitra is not aware of the fact that *Rohitāgiri* occurs in at least three inscriptions, which come from Orissa. The plates of Gayāḍa-tuṅga (*JASB.*, 1909, p. 347 and 1916, p. 291) mention his grand-father, king Jagattuṅga as having immigrated from Rohitāgiri (*Rohitā-girinirgata*). As this occurs in a prose passage, the correctness of the form 'Rohitāgiri' is beyond all dispute. Again in a copper-plate of Vinītatuṅga II of evidently the same dynasty (H. P. Shastri, *JBORS.*, vol. vi, p. 238) it is mentioned, in a verse, that his grand-

¹ An article on this copper-plate will also be found in my forthcoming book entitled *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III (pp. 10-13), which is being published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

father Vinitatuṅga I came from a place which in MM. Sastri's transcript appears as *Rohitāsivi*. What actually occurs in the original is evidently *Rohitāgiri* the letter *ga* being easily mistaken for *śa* and the letter *ra* for *va*. That both the Candras of Eastern Bengal and the Tuṅgas of Orissa came from Rohitāgiri is a fact worthy of notice, although its real significance cannot be perceived at present. To prove that Rohitāgiri is the same as Rohtasgaḍh, we are, of course, not yet in possession of any definite data, but this identification may be provisionally adopted until a more suitable one is forthcoming. However it will be evident that there is absolutely no reason to doubt that 'Rohitāgiri' is the proper restoration of the word in verse 2 of the Rāmpāl copper-plate.

N. G. MAJUMDAR

A Passage of the Abhidharmakosavyākhyā

Under this very title Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya has published in the *IHQ.*, (ii, 2, June, 1926, p. 418) quite interesting remarks on the etymology of the word *loka*, and corrected the mistakes of the Bibliotheca Buddhica edition. But I cannot agree with him on the point that I have overlooked these mistakes in my translation of the Kośa. It is true that I have quoted the text as printed by my friends in the Bibliotheca Buddhica, but I have given reference to the Pāli (Aṅguttara, ii, 48 ; Saṃyutta, iv, 52) and Sanskrit sources (Mahāvīyutpatti, 154, 16 ; Aṣṭasāhasrikā, 236), as well as to Wogihara's note (*pralugna*, Śikṣāsamuccaya, 56, *lujyate* = *lujjati*). I have quoted the etymology *lujir na lokih*. Therefore I am not to be blamed.

LOUIS DE LA VALEE POUSSIN

On the 'Buddhacarita' of Asvaghōṣa

The 'Buddhacarita,' as edited by E. B. Cowell (in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* series), is a very interesting work, forming the earliest extant specimen of artificial epic poetry (*kāvya*) in Sanskrit. In this brief note I shall discuss the language of the published text, which far from being complete and is overstrewn with early interpolations and scribal errors as well as emendations. I must add here that I have not here considered the last four spurious cantos. The eleven *śloka*s in Canto 9 which do not occur in Cowell's text but which were recovered by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri (JASB., 1909) have not been utilised in this paper, although they are genuine.

There are only three notable Prakritisms : *khela* (✓*krīḍ*), 2. 31 and 7. 36 ; *ābhāsura* (✓*ābhāsvara*), 12. 53 ; and *varika* (✓*vakra*), 11. 46.

Two wrong *sandhis* occur : *ubhe 'pi* (for *ubhe api*), 9. 21 ; and *saujasvi* (for *sa ojasvi*), 8. 3. There is also a shortening of quantity of the long vowel *ā* for metrical purpose : *gato 'ryaputraḥ* (for *gata āryaputraḥ*), 8. 34.

Anomalous nominal forms are very few : *loka* has once been used as neuter, e. g. *lokāni hi trīṇi*, 'the three worlds,' 10. 81 ; *añjanā* for *añjana* 'collyrium,' 8. 21 ; *sahīyū* for *sahīyasī* ? 10. 26 ; *vasthānam* for *avasthānam*, 4. 55 ; *dharman* for *dharma*, 5. 77, 11. 20. Once the verb in plural has been construed with the nominative in singular (this is no doubt scribe's blunder) : *nṛpo'pi ca prāpur imam girim vrajan* 'the king too, walking, reached the hill,' 11. 73.

A remarkable feature is the abundant use of the cognate accusative, especially with verbs meaning 'to speak'. Thus, *puṣpadrumāḥ svam kusumam puphulluḥ* 'the flowering trees put on their blossoms,' 1. 44 ; *tapāmsy atapta* 'practised penances,' 2. 49 ; *vacāmsy uvāca* 'spoke words,' 1. 59 ; *vākyam abravīt* 'spoke the word,' 4. 3 ; *vacanam cedam uvāca* 'spoke this speech,' 5. 29 ; *brūvan vākyam idam tasthau* 'stood speaking this speech,' 6. 13 ; *giram ity uvāca* 'this speech he uttered,' 7. 37, etc. ; *abravīd vacaḥ*, 9. 62 ; *vaco babhāṣe*, 13. 3 ; *nanāda simhānādam* 'roared the lion's roar,' 5. 84.

The preposition *prati*, in various senses, governs the accusative ; 1. 73 (twice) ; 1. 81 ; 2. 57 ; 4. 24 ; 6. 43 ; 7. 12, 45 ; 8. 54 ; 9. 14, 67 ; 11. 50, 62 ; 13. 16. The accusative is also governed by

desiderative adjectives, but the genitive occurs with *didṛkṣā*, e. g. *didṛkṣayā śākyakuladhvajasya* 'for the desire of seeing the banner of the race of the Sākyas', 1. 63 ; etc. In the compound *vanabhūmididṛkṣayā* 'for the desire of seeing the forest tract', 5. 2, however, it governs the accusative. The accusative has also been used with the compound *vibhī* : *sukhaṃ vibhīr mām apahūya* 'afraid of pleasure, (and) leaving me', 8. 64. Peculiar is the accusative in : *dharmanadīm pāsyati jīvalokaḥ* 'living beings would drink of the river of *dharma*', 1. 76. The instrumental with the compound *vinākṛta* 'separated' occurs frequently : 8. 21, 37, 78, etc. ; also the instrumental is construed with the conjunctives and derivatives of *vi-yuj* ; e. g. *viyujyamāne' pi tarau puṣpair api phalair api* 'in the tree, also, when divorced from flowers and from fruits', 4. 61. In the following instance the instrumental has been used absolutely : *śarīra-cittavyasanā-tapaś tair evaṃvidhais taiś ca nīpātyamānaiḥ | naivāsanāc chākya-muniś ca cāla svām niścayaṃ bandhum ivopagūhya* 'in spite of those penances of body and mind, and heat, and in spite of these thus assailing him, the Śākya sage did not move from his seat, hugging his own resolve, as it were a friend', 13. 43.

The dative is regularly construed with verbs meaning 'to tell, to send, to show' etc., but in a few instances the dative has been replaced by the genitive ; e. g. *tato' bravūt sārathir asya* 'then the charioteer spoke to him', 3. 42 ; *babhramur darśayanty'o'sya śronāḥ* 'they rambled showing their hips to him', 4. 34 ; *tad bravūmi suhḥ d bhūtā taruṇasya vopuṣmata idam na pratirūpaṃ te* 'so being a friend I say to you who are young and well-shaped, this is not fitting for you', 4. 66. See also verse 2. 44, *infra*. The following instance of ablative of comparison is noteworthy : *dharmasya tasyāśravaṇād ahaṃ hi manye vipattim tridive' pi vāsaḥ* 'living in heaven I consider to be an evil worse than not listening to that *dharma*', 1. 82. In the following instance the genitive absolute implies no sense of *anādhara* : *iti paśyata eva rājaseñnor idam ukṭvā sa nabhaḥ samutpapāta* 'while the king's son was thus looking on, he, saying this, flew up in the sky' 2. 20.

The 'Buddhacarita' agrees with the epics in having the locative used in the various case relations. Thus : *dīḥyatīm striṣu mākātmyam* 'let the excellence of women be noted', 4. 50 ; *yadi tvām samupekṣyeyam na bhaven mitratā mayi* 'if I spurn you I would not have any friendship (for you)', 4. 65 ; *prayatasvātmahite jagaddhite ca* 'strive for your own and for world's welfare', 5. 78 ; *api nairguṇyam asmākaṃ vācyam narapatau tvayā* 'you should also speak to the king about

my worthlessness', 6. 24 ; *bodhiprāptau samartho* *bhūti* 'he was successful in winning perfect knowledge', 12. 109.

One compound formation should be noted : *suhṛdbrūva* 'one who speaks himself as a friend', 8. 35.

The author appears to have been very fond of desideratives,—nouns, adjectives and verbs. These are : *didṛkṣā* 'desire of seeing', 1. 63, etc. ; *jīṇvīṣā* 'desiring of living', 8. 12 ; *cikīrṣā* 'desire of doing', 10. 39 ; *jighāṃsā*, 'desire of killing', 13. 66 ; *vivakṣā* 'desire of speaking' 10. 22 ; *vivatsā* 'desire of dwelling', 7. 42 ; *nīścikramiṣā* 'desire of going out', 5. 66 ; *nīścikramiṣu* 'desirous of going out', 5. 37 ; *viṇighāṃsu*, 'desirous of slaying', 5. 43 ; *mumukṣu* 'desirous of emancipation', 9. 61, etc. ; *amumukṣu* 'not desirous of emancipation', 8. 77 ; *nīrmumukṣu* 'desirous of emancipation', 5. 39 ; *viyāsu* 'desirous of going' 5. 79, etc. ; *viṇiñāsu* 'desirous of knowing', 7. 11, etc. ; *bubhukṣu* 'desirous of food, hungry', 8. 63 ; *pīpāsu* 'desirous of drink', 8. 80 ; *tīrtīṣu* 'desirous of fording or crossing over water', 9. 5, etc. ; *didṛkṣu* 'desirous of seeing', 9. 9, etc. ; *jihīrṣu* 'desirous of taking', 11. 15 ; *śruṇīṣu* 'desirous of hearing', 12. 82 ; *preṇsu* 'desirous of getting', 12. 86, etc. ; *jigīṣu* 'desirous winning', 13. 4 ; *jighrṣu* 'desirous of taking' 13. 27 ; *jighāṃsu* 'desirous of slaying', 13. 4 ; *didhaksu* 'desirous of burning', 13. 50 ; *rirakṣiṣant* 'desiring to protect', 2. 55 ; *āruruṣant* 'desiring to climb, 2. 48 ; *viyāsanti* 'they wish to go', 7. 53 ; *pariṣanti* 'they wish to attain', 7. 53 etc ; *jigīṣanti* 'they wish to win', 11. 12 ; *cikīrṣant* 'desiring to do', 13. 18 ; *jighrṣati* 'he wishes to catch', 8. 64 ; *na cājihīrṣid balim aprav: tiam na cācīkīrṣit paravastv abhidhyām/ na cāvivakṣid dviṣatām adharmaṃ na cādidhaksid hrdayena manyum* 'he did not desire to take contributions not forthcoming ; he did not desire the contemplation of (appropriating) other's property ; he did not desire to teach the wrong to the enemies (even) ; nor did he desire to entertain anger at heart' : 2. 44. This beats even the 'Bhaṭṭikāvya.'

Only one adnominal verbal formation occurs : *karuṇāyamānaḥ* 'feeling pity', 3. 45 and 13. 61.

Simple perfect has been used with about 145 roots and about 645 times. Periphrastic perfects have been formed from about 22 roots,—with *as* 20 occurrences, with *kr* 7, and with *bhū* 5. The following three instances, where the cognate accusative parts have been separated from the main verbal form by the intrusion of other words, are noteworthy : *māt: śvasā māt: samaprabhāvā saṃvārdhayām ātmajavad babhūva* 'the mother's sister, with a mother's authority nursed (him) like her own son', 2. 19 ; *divyair viśeṣair mahayāṃ ca cakruḥ* '(the gods)

honoured (him) with divine preparations', 6. 58 ; *pratyarcayām dharma-bhṛto babhūva* '(he) worshipped the pious ones in return', 7. 9. A similar construction occurs twice in the 'Raghuvamśa' : *taṃ pātayām 'prathamam ūsa papāta paścāt*, '(it) first felled him and then fell itself', 9. 61 ; *prabhraṃśayām yo nahuṣaṃ cakāra* 'who caused Nahuṣa to fall', 13. 36.

Simple aorist occurs with 11 roots and about 25 times : these roots are : *adhi-i*, *k* ; *gam*, *car*, *tap*, *bhū*, *yaj*, *vac*, *śak*, *śi* and *hā*. The reduplicated aorist occurs with *k* ; *chi-i*, *jval*, *bhid*, and *han*, and only once with each. The aorist with desiderative stems occurs only 4 times ; see verse 2. 44, *supra*. The ratio between the perfect and the aorist is about 20 : 1. This in the main agrees with Kālidāsa. The number of imperfect forms is less than that of the aorist. The present form with *sma* has been used as equivalent to the perfect not infrequently. Constructions with the passive participle in *-ta* is anything but rare, while that with *-ta-vant* is very scarce ; e. g. *na yaṃ vaśiṣṭhaḥ kṛtāvaṃ aśaktiḥ* 'what Vaśiṣṭha, lacking power, did not do', 1. 47.

There are only two occurrences of the periphrastic future : *kim eṣa doṣo bhavitū manāpi* 'is it that this evil would happen to me even ?', 3. 32 ; *na punar ahaṃ kapilākhyaṃ praviṣṭū* 'but I shall not again enter the (city) named Kapila', 5. 84. Note the absence of *asmi* in the last instance. The conditional mood occurs in one verse only : *yadi hy aheṣiṣyata bodhayaṇ janam khuraiḥ kṣitau vāpy akariṣyata dhvanim/ hanusvanam vū 'janayisyad uttamam na cūbhaviṣyan mama duḥkham id. śam* 'had (the horse) neighed, waking the people, had it raised noise with its hoofs (beating) on the ground, had it made good noise with its jaws, such misery would not have accrued to me', 8. 4. The precativ occurs once only, in 1. 53.

Peculiar as well as interesting is the following instance where the finite verbal form *asmi* 'I am' has been used for the regular pronoun *aham* : *mū bhūn matis te nṛpa kūcid anyā niḥsaṃśayaṃ tad yad avocaṃ asmi* 'may you have no other apprehension, O king : certain is what I have said', 1. 72. Mallinātha under 'Kirātārjunīya' 3. 6. says, on the authority of the 'Gaṇavyākhyāna', that *asmi* is also an indeclinable in the sense of *aham*, and quotes the parallel : *dāse kṛtāgasi bhavaty ucitāḥ prabhūnām pādaprahāra iti sundari nāsmi dūye* 'a kick to the slave who has committed an offence, is proper for masters, hence, O beautiful one, I do not grudge.' This is probably not an interpolation as the author uses *asmi* very frequently with past participles in *-ta*. To this can be compared the periphrastic future forms such as *dātūsmi* and *dātūham* (the latter frequently occurs in the 'Mahābhārata') ; cf.

also, *na punar ahaṃ kapilāhvayam pr. viṣṭā*, supra. The Prakrit future forms like *dāhaṃ = dāsyāmi* are based on periphrastic forms like *dātūham* and not on the *-sya-* future : cf. S. K. Chatterji, 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,' 1926, p. 549.

A few anomalous verbal forms occur : *supet* (√*svap*), 4. 59 ; *sisiñcire* for *sisiñculi* 8. 26 ; *niṣḍatuli* for *niṣedatuli*, 9. 11 ; 12. 3 ; *samupekṣeyam* for *samupekṣeya*, 4. 65 ; *viṣigāya* for *viṣigye*, 1. 28 ff.; the right form has been used in 2. 34 ; *upatasthuli* for *upatasthire*, 5. 45 (the right form has been used in 10.19) ; *vivarjayitvā*, *paripālayitvā* for *vivarjya*, *paripūlya*, 11. 29.

The following perfect participles occur : *ñivvāṃs* 3.43 ; 5.36 ; *upeyivāṃs* 3.8 ; *sameyivvāṃs* 5.20 ; *upajagmivvāṃs* 12.2 ; *tasthuṣi* 4.36 ; *leli-kāna* 13.13.

A chain of conjunctives occurs in one verse : *niḥśvasya dirghaṃ sa sirah prakampya tasmīṃs ca jirṇe viniवेशya cakṣuḥ| tūṃ caiva dṛṣtvā janatūṃ saharṣāṃ vākyāṃ sa saṃvignam idaṃ jagāda* 'heaving a long (sigh), shaking the head, rivetting (his) eyes on the old (man), and looking at the rejoicing crowd, he uttered this sorrowful speech', 3. 35. In quite a number of instances the conjunctives have been used incorrectly : *tam prekṣya kasmāt tava dhīra bāṣpaḥ* 'why, O calm one, your tears on seeing him ?' 1.68 ; *ato me dhyānāni labdhvāpy akṛtārthataiva* 'hence, through finding meditations, my lucklessness', 1. 82 ; *puruṣasya vayah-sukhāni bhuktvā ramaṇīyo hi tapovanapraveśaḥ* 'of man, after enjoying youthful pleasures, entering the forest is really befitting', 5. 53 ; *evaṃ ca te niṣeayam etu buddhir dṛṣtvā vicitraṃ vividhapracāram* 'Having seen various ways let your mind come to determination,' 9. 34 ; *devena vṛṣṭe'pi hiraṇyavarṣe dvīpān samudrāṇis caturo' pi nītvā| śakra-sya cārdhūsanam apy avāpya māndhātūr āsīt viṣayaṣv atṛptiḥ* 'notwithstanding the God raining gold, notwithstanding (his) conquering the continents and the four oceans, and inspite of (his) occupying half of Śakra's throne, Māndhātṛ had insatiety in enjoyment,' 11. 13 ; *kratoh phalaṃ yady api śāśvatam bhavet tathāpi kṛtvā kim upakṣāyātmakam* 'even if the result of sacrifice be permanent, what is the good of suffering ?' 11. 65.

The infinitive has been used incorrectly in : *jirṇaṃ naraṃ nirmamire prayātum* 'they fashioned a decrepit man to go', 3.26 ; *tad vijñātum imaṃ dharmāṃ paramam bhājanam bhavān* 'so you are the best person for knowing this dharma', 12.9.

When reading the 'Buddhacarita' one cannot help noting that the author was unusually fond of finite verbs. I quote here some passages

which can easily pass for extracts from the grammatical epic, the 'Bhaṭṭi-kāvya' : *cacāra harṣaḥ praṇanūṣa pāpmā jajvāla dharmah kaluṣaḥ śaśāma* 'joy prevailed, sin died out, *dharmā* blazed forth, evil abated', 2. 16 ; *śame 'bhireme virarāma pāpād bheje damaṃ saṃvibabhāja sādhuṃ* 'he rejoiced in peace, desisted from evil, practised abstinence, and honoured the pious', 2.33 ; *nādhyaistā duḥkhūya parasya vidyām jñānaṃ śivam yat tu tam adhyagīṣṭa* 'he did not learn other's knowledge (which comes) for sorrow, but acquired the knowledge which is good', 2. 35 ; *ekaṃ vininye sa jugopa sapta saptaiva tatyāja rarakṣa pañca| prāpa trivargaṃ bubudhe trivargaṃ yajñe dvivargaṃ prajākau dvivargaṃ* 'he subordinated the one, he nurtured the seven ; he gave up the seven, he kept the five ; he acquired the triad, he perceived the triad ; he knew the couple, and he rejected the couple', 2.41.

Āsvaghoṣa apparently wrote in quite good Sanskrit, although his standard is not that of Pāṇini. It is nevertheless an authoritative form of Sanskrit which is also found in the epics and the 'Purāṇas', and is based largely on the spoken usage of the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ.

REVIEWS

BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS. Edited and translated by Beni Madhab Barua, M. A., D. LITT., and Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1926.

As the name indicates, the volume before us is a new edition of the numerous short inscriptions on the Railing and Gateways of the Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut. Since the days when Cunningham removed the remains of the Stūpa to the Indian Museum at Calcutta and published his well-known work *The Stūpa of Barhut*, nearly half a century ago (1879), this unique piece of architecture has formed a serious study to all students of Indian antiquity. It has enriched our knowledge of art, religion, iconography and palaeography to an extent that can hardly be exaggerated. A scholarly edition of all the inscriptions occurring on this monument was therefore a great desideratum, and Messrs. Barua and Sinha are to be congratulated on their attempt to remove this long-felt want.

The editors appear to have utilised all that has been written upon the subject by Cunningham, Hoernle, Hultsch and others ; but they have made distinct improvements upon the work of their predecessors both in regard to the arrangement as well as the interpretation of the inscriptions. Future research will probably correct or supplement some of their conclusions, but there is no doubt that their work constitutes a landmark in the study of the subject. They have classified the records under two broad headings, viz., 'Votive Labels' and 'Jātaka Labels' "grouping the former as they occur on the Gateway-pillars, the Rail-pillars, the Rail-bars, the Coping-stones, and the isolated fragments, and grouping the latter as they are attached to different scenes in accordance with the accepted Jātaka outlines of the Buddha's life." By this new arrangement of the records, the editors have fully justified their claim "to unveil the system that underlies them and thereby make them truly significant." The editors have also brought their extensive knowledge of Pāli literature to bear upon their texts, as one can judge from their identification of the labels as well as from their useful and learned notes on the texts ; but it must be said that they seem to err very often, in their somewhat elaborate notes, on the side of prolixity and discursiveness.

The volume concludes with elaborate notes on the palaeography and language of the inscriptions as well as on the persons, epithets and localities mentioned in them.

While we have nothing but praise for the general arrangement of the book, we regret to have to point out some drawbacks. In the first place, the volume is seriously disfigured by misprints. The same word appears with different accents (in transliteration) in the text and in the translation, and the general reader is sometimes frankly puzzled as to which form he should accept as the correct one intended by the editors. On p. 7, l. 25, Cunningham reads *gajāṭira*, and not *gajātira*. On p. 15, l. 12, *smṛaityupasthāna* is not intelligible. When one has to deal with short records in Prākṛt, a misprint is often a source of confusion to the reader; and such misprints do not reflect much credit upon a University Press like that of Calcutta in a volume which is otherwise very well got up.

It must also be pointed out that the editors have freely suggested readings different from those adopted by Cunningham; but very seldom these emendations are supported by any argument or facsimile-plates. Indeed, the portion dealing with the readings of records cannot be properly utilised until it is accompanied by a good facsimile reproduction of the inscriptions themselves. We hope the editors will complete their work by bringing out a companion volume to remedy this defect.

In the second section, the names of all the *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs* have been included under the 'Jātaka Labels.' In some cases the editors have justified such inclusion by adding an explanatory note, interpreting the picture as the scene of the Buddha's interview with the particular *yakṣa* or *yakṣiṇī* under discussion, though how it follows from the record or the picture itself it is difficult to see. In some cases, however, no such relation with the Buddha has been suggested at all, and the inclusion of the particular *yakṣa* or *yakṣiṇī* requires an explanation.

In the third section, the notes on palaeography are very general or vague, e.g., "It stands near to Aśokan forms," "its development can be traced from the Aśokan form," or that "it compares favourably" with this and that form of letter. In addition we have "Coping forms," "Gateway forms," "Coping 1st form," "Coping 3rd form" and so forth. These remarks or generalisations do not carry us very far in our estimate of the chronology of the Barhut inscriptions. The editors have stated and criticised at some length the views of

Mr. R. P. Chanda as expressed in *Memoirs, Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 1, but they have not referred to the comprehensive review of Mr. Chanda's views in *JASB.*, 1922, pp. 225f, and Mr. Chanda's rejoinder thereto in *JBORS.*, vol. XI, pp. 71f, where he has re-stated his views with some important modifications.

The translation affords many difficulties, but it has been done fairly accurately, although one finds here and there a passing over of difficulties. On p. 14, no. 33, the word *bhānakasa* has not been translated; while on p. 7, l. 1-2, it is doubtful whether our editor's translation is an improvement upon Cunningham's suggestion.

S. K. DE

INLAND TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA. By Bejoy Kumar Sarkar, A. B. (Harvard). Royal 8vo. 91 pages. Calcutta University Press, 1925.

Economic history is an important and fascinating branch of investigation in the economic sciences. In recent times the subject has been attracting a very great deal of attention in British and other foreign economic circles. Although we in India have hardly as yet done justice to the importance of the subject, it is a matter of gratification to see that our scholars are not absolutely avoiding it.

The book before us seeks to study the methods of inland transport and communication in mediæval India, roughly speaking, from the 11th to the 18th century. The volume should therefore be studied in the light of economic life that has prevailed in Europe previous to the industrial revolution. Mr. Bejoy Kumar Sarkar has made use of the chronicles of Muhammadan historians and the accounts of foreign travellers bearing on the periods under investigation. He has avoided, as a rule, all comparison with the corresponding periods in Western economic history. But the reports on Indian economic life such as are furnished by European travellers, as far down as Carey, furnish us with loop-holes through which the readers can, to a certain extent, although indirectly, visualise the condition of things in Europe.

The author has not attempted to make a propaganda for the glories of our forefathers. To those readers who have a grasp of the conditions prevailing in mediæval Europe the book will appear no less scientific than instructive. Mr. Sarkar invites our attention to the evidence of foreign writers on India's wealth and foreign trade and we are reminded also that they used to look upon the "wealth of India

as an object of wonder." As long as the author tries to keep within the limits set for instance by Tavernier we do not have to be too sceptical about such phrases as "adequate facilities for communication", "continuous stream of goods", "flourishing state", "immense wealth" etc. which we come across in the book. The evidences are given from the foreign writers, and the author happens to be on the safe side because he does not try to belittle the economic conditions of modern India and the rest of the world.

His judgment at page 71 is as follows :—"Having regard to the almost self-sufficing character of the different parts of the country, the small development of territorial division of labour and the little interdependence between one part and another and the comparative absence of traffic in such bulky articles as coal and iron, hide and jute, etc., the means of communication and the facilities for transport in mediaeval India will thus be considered to have been fully adequate to meet the needs of the times". On page 34 he makes it a point to tell us that "the high-ways as well as the city streets were in the main *kuchcha*."

Statements like these indicate that the author's investigations are not vitiated by excessive patriotism which, although not an undesirable quality in itself, is certainly a hindrance to science. The author's claims for the mediaeval achievements of the Hindus and Musalmans are quite modest and reasonable.

We wish the author had furnished us with pictures of the actual conditions of mediaeval transport and communication in England, France, Germany or Italy as the background on which to interpret his realistic data on (I) water transport, (II) land transport and (III) the posts in mediaeval India.

The subject dealt with in the book is vast and will continue to attract scientific investigators in economic history like the present author for comparative as well as intensive research. The author has put together much information from different sides and is to be congratulated on having produced a useful work.

SELECTIONS FROM SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS, Part I.
By D. B. Diskalkar, M. A., with a preface by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, M.A.

The consensus of opinion among Indian epigraphists is that the Sanskrit inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated in the Śaka year 72 (= A. D. 150), have an important bearing upon the development of

Indian literature, of the Kāvya in particular, apart from their being indelible records, dated and undated, on rocks, stones, iron and stone-pillars, and copper-plates, throwing a flood of light upon political events and religious changes that took place in the different parts of the country, in east, south, west and north. The selected texts are precisely those that possess literary merit and are calculated to evolve a wider interest in the study of Sanskrit epigraphs among all students of Sanskrit. This is certainly a move in the right direction. The claim that the right of study of the inscriptions is reserved for *bona fide* students of epigraphy implies a sop to vanity that should not be tolerated. The dreaded barrier between Sanskrit inscription and Sanskrit literature is not a wall of China but only that of crystal, unobstructing a view from outside. The selections in Part I comprise the texts without notes and translations that are reserved for a supplement which is yet to follow. The texts, e. g., Girnar Rock Inscription of Rudradāman, Meharauli Posthumous Iron Pillar Inscription of Candrarāja, and the rest, are arranged in their chronological order, and cover a pretty long period of Indian history from the 2nd to the 8th century A.D. The texts are cramped and appear naked without a word-index. We hope that the promised supplement will come out soon.

B. M. BARUA

FURTHER DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA (translated from the Pāli of the Majjhima Nikāya). By Lord Chalmers, vol. I. Humphrey Milford, London, Oxford University Press. [Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. v]. pp. xxiv+371

We welcome with pleasure the English translation of the first volume of the Majjhima Nikāya, the great storehouse of Buddhist lore. The task of a translator of works like this is not at all easy. This can be realised by those who have attempted to translate into a European language a treatise in an ancient Indian tongue. We are glad to find that in spite of the difficulty of the task, Lord Chalmers has performed it creditably. With due deference to the late Dr. Rhys Davids who has translated into English so many Pāli works and has thereby left us a legacy of English synonyms of a good many Pāli technical terms, we must admit that while there are many synonyms which express adequately the sense intended to be conveyed through them, there are, however, others which have failed to serve that purpose though they have acquired currency by use in a large number of English works. We admire Lord

Chalmers for subjecting these current words to a scrutiny and using those which in his opinion express the intended sense more accurately. In the recently published Pāli-English Dictionary of the Pāli Text Society (1925) edited by Rhys Davids and Stede, a similar attempt has been made to substitute better English synonyms of Pāli words. As an example of the improvement that has been made by the present translator upon the renderings of Pāli passages by Dr. Rhys Davids I may mention the translation of the text that relates to the four jhānas (cf. D. N. tr. pt ii, pp. 218-19 with M. N. tr. pt i, pp. 217-18). In some cases, however, the departure has not produced a better result, e. g. the use of the word 'Almsman' for 'bhikkhu', 'Pilgrimage' for 'pabbajjā', 'Truthfinder' for 'Tathāgata', 'bovine' for 'go-vatika', 'canine' for 'kukura-vatika'. For the first two words I would prefer 'monk', and 'retirement from household life' respectively; while in regard to words like 'Tathāgata' which cannot be translated by a single expression I would suggest the retention of the original word in the translation. The use of the words 'bovine' and 'canine' to signify the ascetics who took the vow of not using hands while eating and drinking has not at all been happy. In a few places the translator could have easily given himself more freedom, for without that, the rendering has been cumbrous or obscure, e. g. (i) 'sirīṃsapa-samphassanam' has been rendered into 'contact with creeping things' (p. 6); (ii) 'Piṇḍapātāṃ paṭisevate' into 'he exercises the use of alms received'; (iii) 'Kīṃ uttariyaṃ karaṇiyaṃ' into 'what is ahead' (p. 192); (iv) 'Cārikaṃ caramāno' into 'alms-pilgrimage' (p. 202). I think the meanings would have been expressed more clearly if they had been rendered as follows: (i) bitten by a reptile, (ii) eating food collected by begging, (iii) what else is to be done, (iv) wandering about.

In spite of these few defects we commend this book, as a clear and faithful translation, to those readers who want to have an idea of the Pāli canonical texts through English. A glance at the translation of the Saccaka Sutta and the Mahāvedalla Sutta, containing many philosophical and technical terms, will convince them that the writer is eminently fit to undertake an English rendering of a recondite work like the Majjhima Nikāya. It will also be of great help to those who wish to understand the text, as the translation has made clear many passages from which it is difficult to elicit the meaning with the help of the commentary.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary, August, 1926

V. S. BAKHLE.—The Capital of Nahapāna. Disagreeing with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and others, who relying on the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea and the Geography of Ptolemy hold that the capital of the kingdom of Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta ruler of Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarat was Daśapura or the modern Mandasor, the writer of this note follows Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his attempt to establish that the said capital was situated at Junner and identifies the place with the Minnagar of the Periplus and Omenogara of Ptolemy.

SYLVAIN LEVI.—Pihumda, Pithuḍa, Pitundra (translated from the French by S. M. Edwardes). This is an attempt to determine the identity of an ancient city mentioned as Pihumda in the Uttarā-dhyāyana Sūtra, Pithuḍa in the Inscription of Khāravela and Pitundra in the Geography of Ptolemy. In this connection Prof. Lévi does not accept Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of a passage in the said inscription and also his reading of the name of the city as Pithudagadabha.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1926

STEN KONOW.—The Inscription on the So-called Bodh-Gaya Plaque. The letters inscribed on the Plaque have been read for the first time as *Kothumasa Saṃghadasasa kiti* (the work of Saṃghadāsa, the Kauthuma).

MANOMOHAN GANGULI.—Indian Architecture from the Vedic Period. By quoting passages from the Vedic literature the writer has attempted to get up the architectural history of India [of the Vedic period].

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—Asura Expansion in India. The courses along which the expansion of the Asura settlements took place in India and the process of Aryanisation of the tribe became complete have been shown chiefly from the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas.

**Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal
Asiatic Society, vol ii, No. 1**

M. WINTERNITZ.—The Serpent Sacrifice mentioned in the Mahābhārata (translated from the original German by N. B. UTGIKAR). While presenting the story of the serpent sacrifice of king Janamejaya and the legends connected therewith, Prof. Winternitz has pointed out the striking parallels found in the similar myths of other countries, and so not agreeing with Jacobi, Ludwig and others, who hold the legend of serpent sacrifice to be a reminiscence of an historical event of India, has come to the conclusion that the idea of drawing the serpents into the flame may have its source in a myth that goes back to the Indo-Germanic pre-historic times or it may have spontaneously arisen from the same psychological motive, viz, the extirpation of serpents.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1926

W. H. MORELAND.—Sher Shah's Revenue System.

PADMA NATH BHATTACARYYA.—Note on the Bhūmicchidranyāya. The expression *bhūmi-cchidra-nyūya* found in many copper-plate grants indicates that just as a land unfit for cultivation is not assessable, so the lands covered by those grants are not to be assessed.

Obituary Notice

The Late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis

Rao Bahadur Dattatreya Balwant Parasnis, the well-known Maratha scholar of Satara, was ruthlessly snatched away from our midst by the hand of Death on the 31st of March last. He was born on the 27th November, 1870 and was educated at Satara in the Satara High School. His school-life was conspicuous not only by his proficiency in studies, but also by his regular and persistent study of the lives of eminent historical personages, thereby getting acquainted with the past history of the Mahrattas. While at school, he started on his own initiative a monthly magazine, the utility of which was recognised by people outside Mahārāṣṭra, evoking the admiration of the distinguished statesman and scholar the late Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao.

After school career, he threw himself wholly into the pursuit of historical researches, and his untiring energy in that direction found an outlet through the *Mahārāṣṭra Kokil* a magazine started and conducted by him for some years. In 1894, he published the life of the Rani of Jhansi which met with much appreciation and was translated into various vernaculars of India. Shortly after he wrote another book entitled "Exploits of the Marathas in Bundelkhand," which was followed in 1898 by the "Bhārat Varṣa" another magazine started by him and devoted exclusively to history.

From 1898 to 1902 he published a number of books such as "the Nawabs of Oudh," "Brahmendra Swami of Dhavadshi," "Life of Baija Bai Shinde of Gwalior," and "Delhi," and then left for England with H. H. the late Maharaja of Kolhapur. After visiting the British Museum and similar other institutions, he was inspired with the idea of founding an historical museum for collecting old records. After his return, he set himself to work and within a short time, his ideal about the museum became a reality and soon attracted the notice of Lord Sydenham the then Governor of Bombay, who paid it a visit in 1909. In the meanwhile, his literary pursuits were being steadily continued. In 1908, he started his third magazine "Itihās Saṅgraha" which during its short life of seven years published much valuable historical material throwing light upon many an obscure point in the history of the Mahrattas.

In 1913, in recognition of his services to Maratha history and literature, he was made a 'Rao Bahadur' an honour which was then rarely bestowed on persons engaged in such pursuits. Shortly after that event the idea of erecting a magnificent building for the museum, was conceived and encouraged by the then Governor of Bombay, Lord Willingdon, but the great War broke out shortly afterwards stopping the work of building the museum which after many vicissitudes came to be completed in 1924, i.e., after a period of eleven years. The opening ceremony was performed by the Governor of Bombay, Sir Leslie Wilson, on the 3rd November 1925, a day which, as the Rao Bahadur put it, "was the proudest and happiest day of his life."

In this museum, he has deposited the old and valuable documents (Marathi, English and Persian), rare maps and plans, autograph letters and his own magnificent collections of books for use by the public facilitating thereby the research work of scholars. Very attractive is his collection of valuable old Indian paintings, both of Rajput and Moghul schools, as also the previous collection of old coins.

Besides the "History of the Maratha People" written by him and Mr. Kincaid, he has also written several other historical works, important among them being "Mahabaleswar" (1916), "The Sangli State" (1917), "Poona in Bygone Days" (1921), and "Panhala" (1923).

He leaves behind him his old and infirm parents, wife, several children and countless friends both European and Indian to mourn his loss. He spent his whole life and fortune in collecting and preserving the historical documents in a thoroughly selfless spirit for the benefit of the public, and it is now for them to appreciate the magnitude of his great sacrifice in money, time, and labour.

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Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China

To many people, especially those who have access only to English books¹, the expression "Indo-Chinese Buddhism" means the religion actually professed by the two countries, Siam and Burma, which, together with Ceylon, form the geographical area of the Southern Buddhism. This view is deficient on two points: first it neglects all the eastern part of the Peninsula; secondly, it does not make any allowance for the long period during which a great part of Indo-China knew no other form of Buddhism than the Mahāyāna. Therefore, it will not be useless to trace, with more precision, the main lines of the history of Buddhism in these far-off countries. This history has grown in two different regions independent of each other and of unequal importance: the eastern coast (Annam) and the western part of the country (British Malaya, Siam, Cambodia, Laos, Burma).

The most ancient Hindu settlement on the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula seems to lie in the south of modern Annam between Cochin-China and the mountain range which terminates with Cape Varella near the modern town of Nhatrang. There is a temple of Bhagavatī, which, though

1 The exact and well-informed work of Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London, 1921, ought to be set apart.

does not date back to a very remote epoch (the existing buildings are of the 9th century A.D.), occupies the seat of a much more ancient sanctuary. According to a tradition preserved in an inscription of the 8th century, a Mukhalinga had been erected there by a king, Vicitrāsagara by name, in the year of 5911 of the Dvāpara¹ age. This fabulous date proves, at least, that the Sanctuary of Nhatrang was considered in the 8th century as being of an immemorial antiquity.

Not far from this place was found a Sanskrit inscription of great historical importance. It does not contain any date but its writing points, with a quasi certitude, to the third or the second century of our era.² It owes its origin to a king who claims to be a descendant of Śrī Mārarāja. The wear and tear of the stone does not permit of any precise conclusion as to the religion which the author of that work professed, but some expressions such as “*prajānān karuṇā...*,” “compassion for creatures” “*lokaśyāsya gatīgati*” “coming and going of this world,” [*prajā*]nām priyahite sarvaṃ viśṛṣṭaṃ mayā, “all is given up by me for the satisfaction and good of creatures”, might give out a Buddhistic inspiration.

It is possible that this Hindu colony was the nucleus of the kingdom of Champa which, according to the Chinese historians, was founded in the year 192 A.D. by an adventurer, in revolt against the imperial authorities of the province of Je-nan and extended rapidly towards the north up to the

¹ Pañca-sahasra-nava-śataikādaśe vigata-kalikālaṅka-dvāparavarṣe Śrī-Vicitrāsagara-saṁsthāpitah Śrī-Mukhalinga-devaḥ. *Inscriptions sanscrites de Champā et du Cambodge, publiées par* A. Barth et A. Bergaigne. Paris, 1885—1893, p. 294. [This collection will be referred to henceforth under the form *ISCC*].

² Inscription of Vo-canḥ, published in *ISCC*, p. 191, and re-edited in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'extrême-Orient*, XV, 2, p. 3. [This Bulletin will be referred to hereafter under the form *BEFEO*].

frontier of Tongking.¹ It might also stand for the kingdom of Pāṇḍuraṅga, which later on became a vassal principality of Champa.

The epigraphy of Champa (leaving aside the inscription of Vo-canb) is, at first, clearly Śaiva. It is in the 9th century only that Buddhism makes its appearance there. In the second quarter of that century, a Buddhist of Pāṇḍuraṅga, Samanta by name, dedicates two monasteries (Vihāra) and two temples to the Jīna and Śiva (Jīnaśaṅkarayos), the *prāśasti* being written by his son, Sthavira Buddhānirvāṇa.² From that time is noticed the close association of Buddhism with Śaivism which will remain up to the end is one of the salient features of religion in Champa, as in the other Hindu states of Indo-China.

Some twenty years later, the growing importance of Buddhism is affirmed by the foundation of the great monastery of Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara,³ a pious work of king Indravarman II who had assumed before his coronation the name of Lakṣmīndra Bhūmiśvara Grāmasvāmī⁴ and after his death that of Paramabuddhaloka. In the foundation charter, the king glorifies simultaneously Lokeśvara and the Liṅga Bhadresvara.

It is peculiar that in this monument dedicated to Lokeśvara not a single image of this Bodhisattva has been discovered but only some big statues of the Buddha represented

1 L. Arousseau in *BEFEO*, XIV, g, p. 26.

2 *ISCC*, p. 237, no. XXV.

3 The ruins of this monastery are situated near the village of Dong-duong in the province of Quang-nam (Annam). They have been described by H. Parmentier in: *Inventaire descriptif des monuments chams de l'Annam*, vol. I, p. 439 ff. The inscriptions have been published in *BEFO*, IV 84 ff.

4 It was a custom in religious foundations to place the name of the founder before that of the devatā Lakṣmīndra Lokeśvara = Lokeśvara founded by Lakṣmīndra; Mahīndra-Lokeśvara = Lokeśvara founded by Mahīndrādhipati, etc.

as sitting in the European fashion with hands resting on his knees.¹

In 902 A.D. in the same province Sthavira Nāga-puṣpa sets up a Lokanātha in the monastery of Pramuditā-Lokeśvara which he held as a royal gift.² On that occasion he was pleased to give a resumé of the Mahāyānist theogony under the rather peculiar form it had taken in his own time.

*Vajradhātur asau pūrvvaṃ Śrī-Śākyamuniśāsanāt
 Śūnyo pi Vajradhṛddhetuḥ buddhānāṃ ālayo bhavat ||
 Padmadhātur ato Lokeśvarahetur jinālayaḥ
 Amitābhavacoyuktyā mahāśūnyo babhūva ha ||
 Cakradhātur asau śūnyātīto Vairocanājñayā
 Vajrasattvasya hetuḥ syāt tṛtīyo bhūj jinālayaḥ ||*

"In the beginning Vajradhātu (who, though void, is the cause of Vajradhara) became, by the order of Śākyamuni, the receptacle of the Buddhas. Then Padmadhātu, the great void, cause of Lokeśvara, in compliance with the word of Amitābha—became the [second] receptacle of the Buddhas. Cakradhātu, the ultra void cause of Vajrasattva became, by the order of Vairocana, the third receptacle of the Buddhas."

As is seen, we are completely here in Mahāyānism though the name has not been yet pronounced. This gap is going to be filled up. At the end of the twelfth century a petty king, reigning in Pāṇḍuraṅga, boasts of practising the dharma of Mahāyāna and in testimony of his faith, erects a Buddha Lokeśvara in the district of Buddhāloka.³

Afterwards we have no more document. Nevertheless, a fragment which seems to date from the second half of the thirteenth century begins with the invocation *Om namo*

1 Is it to be surmised that these images represent Lokeśvara under the aspect of Buddha, a form which is met with in China. (A. FOUCHER, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 195, no. 31 : Mahācīne Buddha-rūpaka—Lokanāthaḥ) ? Cf. *infra* the erection of a Buddha-Lokeśvara.

2 BEFEO, XI, 277.

3 BEFEO, IV, 971, 927.

buddhāya, which at least proves that Buddhism was not yet extinct in that time.¹

Iconography confirms the data of epigraphy: the soil of Champa has given in abundance bronze and stone statues of Buddha, Lokeśvara and Prajñāpāramitā. A number of clay medallions bearing images of Buddha and Lokeśvara were picked up in the caves of northern Annam².

The conclusion of this review of our documentation both written and iconographic is that from the 9th century A.D. up to at least the 13th century the two great religions of Champa were, in the first place, Śaivism with the preponderance of the cult of the Liṅga and in the second place, Mahāyāna under the form of the cult of Lokeśvara and that these two cults, far from being mutually incompatible, were more or less intimately associated.

The next question arises: has the predominance of Mahāyāna been preceded by a Hīnayāna period? This is what would seem to come out from a passage of the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing (*Record*, p. 12): "In this country (Champa), Buddhists generally belong to the Arya-sammiti-nikāya and there are also a few followers of the Sarvāstivāda-nikāya." Nevertheless this assertion seems open to doubt. The information of I-tsing about Champa is secondhand and the apparent precision with which are characterised the two sects of the Hīnayāna that were supposed to be found there must rather put us on guard than to inspire confidence. In any case absolutely nothing in the documents, known up to the present, corroborates the assertion of the Chinese pilgrim.

Towards the end of the 15th century, Champa ceased to exist as an independent state. The Annamites of Tong-

1 A. BERGAIGNE, *L'ancien royaume de Champa*, p. 70.

2 Mainly L. FINOT, *La religion des cham d'après les monuments*, BEFEO, I, p. 12-33; H. PARMENTIER, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments chams*, Paris, 1909-1918, 2 vols.; Id. *Les sculptures chames au musée de Tourane*, Paris, 1922. (Ars Asiatica, IV).

king, formerly subjects of the Chinese empire having regained their autonomy in the 10th century had gradually extended their possessions towards the south at the expense of Champa. In their last raid (1471 A.D.), they seized and burnt down the capital and took possession of the whole kingdom where they introduced this mixture of Mahāyānism, Taoism and Confucianism which, together with the cult of the ancestors and of the genii, constitutes the Chinese religion. As to the pitiable remnants of Cham people, reduced to a few districts of Southern Annam, some of them practise Islamism, others a debased form of Hinduism wherein no trace of Buddhism is found.

II

In its palmy days, Champa had as neighbour in the West a state which is known to us only through the Chinese historians and which consequently passes by the name they give to it, viz., Funan.¹

It was a great empire which had the centre of its power in the territory of modern Cambodia and extended its suzerainty from the Lower Cochin-china to the Gulf of Bengal and from Upper Laos down to the Malay peninsula. It counted among its vassals, the Mons of Dvāravatī (Siam)² and the Khmers, then established on the Mekong in the region of Bassak (by 15° lat. north). Its history occupies the first five centuries of our era.

1 Funan probably corresponds to the Khmer word *vnam* "mountain." Possibly the kings of the country were called *Krung vnam* "kings of the mountain" like the Śailendras of Sumatra.

2 The existence of the kingdom of Dvāravatī is attested for the 7th century by the two histories of the T'ang Dynasty and by the pilgrims Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing who locate it between Śrīkshetra (Prome) and Cambodia, but it may be much older. The ethnic character of its population has been brought to light by G. COEDÈS, *Documents sur l'histoire du Laos occidental*, BEFEO, xxv, pp. 115 ff. cf. *ibid*, iv, 223, note 5.

As in Champa so in Funan we meet with two main cults: one in the foreground, the Śaivism; one in the background but not negligible, the Buddhism—the two religions existing peacefully side by side. That is what we gather from the evidence of I-tsing.¹ “Setting out south-westwards (from Champa) one reaches within a month Pa-nan, formerly called Fu-nan. Of old it was a country, the inhabitants of which lived naked, the people were mostly worshippers of the devas; later on Buddhism flourished there but a wicked king has now expelled and exterminated them all and there are no members of the Buddhist brotherhood at all.”

Concerning the preponderance of Śaivism in Funan, it may be noticed that although the head of the mission sent to the court of China in 484 A.D., Śākya Nāgasena was a Buddhist monk, still in his description of Funan he exalts especially the god Maheśvara (*BEFEO*, IV, 270). Nevertheless, Buddhism enjoyed a place of honour in this country. Some illustrious relics were preserved there, notably a hair of the Buddha, 12 feet long which the king presented to the Emperor in 539 A.D. (*ibid*, p. 281). Several bhikṣus of Funan went to China for the translation work of the holy books; among them were Saṅghapāla and Mandrasena at the end of the 5th and in the beginning of the 6th century (*ibid.*, p. 294).

Our information on Funan does not allow any conclusion as to the particular form of Buddhism which was reigning there. Perhaps several sects divided this vast empire among themselves.

In the south of Funan, the Malay peninsula was essentially a Buddhist country. The inscriptions found in the region of Ligor and in the province of Wellesly prove that in the 4th century A.D. there were some important Buddhistic centres on the coasts.² Other inscriptions

¹ *Record*, p. 12.

² H. KERN, *Over eenige oude Sanskrit-opschriften van't, Maleische Schiereiland* (Verslagen en Mededeelingen, 1883). L. FINOT, *Inscrip-*

discovered on the south of the isthmus of Krā dating from the 8th and 9th centuries witness the continuation of the same religion in those countries. One of them which commemorates the construction of three caityas in honour of Avalokitesvara, Buddha and Vajrapāṇi in 775 A.D. proceeds from the king of Śrī-Vijaya (Palembang).¹

III

Towards the middle of the 6th century, a political revolution broke out in the western Indo-china: the Khmers or Kambojas, till then vassal of Funan, overthrew the sovereign state and took its place.

It is no doubt to this event that I-tsing alludes in the passage quoted above, when he speaks of the wicked king who exterminated the Buddhists of Funan. We may be permitted to believe that the pious writer has strongly exaggerated this disaster, for, in 664 A. D., that is to say, only half a century after the conquest, and precisely at the time when I-tsing commenced his journey, the reigning king, in an inscription, praises two eminent Bhikṣus (bhikṣu-*variṣṭhān*) living in his kingdom both of whom are (said to be) "treasures of virtue, science, kindness, patience, charity, austerity and prudence" (*ISCC.*, p. 62). *Śīla-śruta-śama-kṣānti-dayā-saṃyamadhī-nidhī*.

All that could possibly happen was a strengthening of Saivism which was the religion of the Khmer kings, but there is not the least probability of a persecution or *a fortiori* of an extermination of the Buddhists by the new sovereigns. An inscription of the same epoch (7th century)² which associates in the same pious donation, the Buddha, Maitreya and Avalokī-

tions du Siam et de la péninsule Malaise (Bulletin de la Commission archeologique de l'Indochine, 1910, p. 147).

1 G. COEDÈS, *Le royaume de Śrīvijaya* (BEFEO, XVIII, n° 6).

2 Inscription of Ampil Rolöm, cf. AYMONTIER *Le Cambodge*, I, p. 449.

teśvara, proves that it was the Mahāyāna which was at that time the form of Buddhism prevailing in Cambodia, and as such it remained till the inroad of the Hīnayāna following the Siamese wars, towards the 15th century when a new religious era commences.

The most popular figure of the Mahāyānist pantheon in Cambodia is Lokeśvara. This merciful Bodhisattva is the great divinity of the kingdom ; it is under his patronage that the capital is placed ; it is his image that appears on the fronton of the *dharmaśālās* built along the roads in order to provide a shelter to the pilgrims.¹ He is very often associated with Prajñāpāramitā and Vajrapāṇi. It is especially in the 10th century that his cult seems to have been flourishing. He is still invoked in the inscriptions of the 12th century, but no more foundations made in his name are recorded and when the great Buddhist king Jayavarman VII founds hospitals in various provinces of his empire, it is no more under the patronage of Lokeśvara that he places them, although this was one of the essential functions of the great Bodhisattva—but under that of the mythical Buddha Bhaisajyaguru and of his two assistants Sūryavairocana and Candravairocana.²

The Tantrism seems to have exercised very little influence upon the Khmer cults, although several images of Hevajra have been found in the ruins of Ankor. Generally speaking the Cambodian Mahāyāna gives an impression of laudable sobriety. We may gather an idea of it from some specimens of the invocations that ordinarily open the acts of pious gifts.

1 cf. L. FINOT, *Lokeśvara en Indochine*, in *Etudes asiatiques, publiées à l'occasion du 25 anniversaire de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1925, T. I., pp. 227-256. ID. *Inscriptions d'Ankor et Dharmaśālās au Cambodge*, BEFEO, T. xxv.

2 Edict of the Hospitals : BEFEO, iii, 18 ff., 460, xv, 2, p. 108, 185. There was in Ceylon an Ārogyaśālā-Lokeśvara "Lokeśvara of the hospitals", FOUCHER *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 193 et 212.

Inscription of Phnom Bantāy Nān, A.D. (n° k. 214).

*namo stu paramārthāya vyomatulyāya yo dadhau
dharma-sambhogi-nirmāṇa-kāyān trailokyamūrttaye||
bhātī Lokeśvaro mūrdhna yo' mitābhañ jinan dadhau
mitaraśmiprakāśānām arkkendvor darśanād iva||
Prajñāpāramitākhyāyai bhagavatyai namo stu te
yasyām sametya sarvajñās sarvajñatvam upeyusaḥ||*

"Homage to the Absolute, identical with the Void, who has taken the bodies of Law, Beatitude and Creation, to make from them the shape of the three worlds.

"Resplendent is Lokeśvara, who has placed upon his head the Jina Amitābha (Unlimited Light) as a consequence of his having ascertained the limited light of the Sun and the Moon.

"Homage to thee, Blessed One ! who art called Prajñāpāramitā, in whom the Omniscients have attained their Omniscience."

Inscription of Ta Prohm, 1186 A.D. (n° k. 273).

*Sambhāra-vistara-vibhāvita-dharmmakāya-
sambhoga-nirmīti-vapur bhagavān vibhaktah||
yo gocaro jīna-jinātma-śāśana-dehabhājāṃ
vuddhāya bhūtaśaraṇāya namo stu tasmai||
vande niruttaram anuttaravodhīmārggaṃ
bhūtārtha-darśana-nirāvaraṇaikadr̥ṣṭim||
dharmman trilokaviditāmaravandyavandyam
antarvasat-śaḍariṣaṇḍa-vikhaṇḍa-khaḍgam||
samyagvimukti-paripanthitayā vimukta-
saṅgo pi santatagr̥hītaparārthasaṅgaḥ||
saṅgyamāna-jinaśāsana-śāsitan yān
saṅgho bhisamhita hitaprabhavo vatād vaḥ||
trailokya-kāṅkṣita-phalaprasavaika-yonir
agrāṅguli-vitapa-bhūṣita-vāhu-sākhah||
hemopavīta-latikā-parivīta-kāyo
Lokeśvaro jayati jaṅgamapārijātaḥ||
munīndra-dharmmagrasarīm guṇāḍhyān
dhimadbhir adhyātmadṛṣā nirīkṣyām||*

nirastaniśśeṣavikalpajālām

bhaktiā jinānām janānīm namadhvam||

"To the Blessed One, whose previous merits, as a result of their growing, are manifested in the bodies of Law, Beatitude and Creation and who (thus) is divided, who is the domain of those who put on the bodies of Jina or of Bodhisattva,—to the Buddha, the Refuge of the beings, homage !

"I adore the supreme way of supreme Illumination, the Only View through which the pure reality is perceived without any veil, the Law, most revered by all the immortals who know the three worlds whom the three worlds know, the sword that cuts down the thicket of the six inner enemies.

"He, who, although emancipated from all attachments, is putting obstacle in the way of perfect emancipation, nevertheless remains faithfully attached to the interest of others, teaches the world the doctrine of the Jina sung (by the councils) and has always the production of good in view,—may the Saṅgha protect you !

"Victorious is Lokeśvara, unique source of the fruits wished for by the three worlds, whose arms are like branches adorned with twigs that are his fingers, whose body is encircled by a liana which is the Brahmanic thread, and who is (thus) a living Pārijāta (Tree of paradise).

"With a pious love adore Her, who marches at the head of the Law of the king of munis, who is rich in virtue, perceptible to the sages only by means of introspection and who unfolds the tangle of all kinds of doubts, the (Prajñāpāramitā), mother of the Jinās !"

Of a more popular character is the cult of Bodhidruma such as it appears to us in an inscription which is connected with one of the sacred trees planted on the terrace of the principal temple of the royal palace at Angkor Thom. That inscription (n°. k. 484) may be attributed to the reign of Jayavarman VII (12th century).

*Vrahmamūla Śivaskandha Viṣṇuśūkha sanātana
 Vṛkṣarāja mahābhāgya sarvāśraya phalapradā||
 mā tvāśānir mmā paraśur mānilo mā hutāśanaḥ
 mā rājā mā gajaḥ kruddho vināśam upaneśyati||
 akṣispandan bhruvo spandan dussvapnan durvicintitam
 aśvattha śamayet sarvvaṃ yad divyaṃ yac ca mānuṣam||*

"Oh, Thou whose roots are Brahmā, trunk is Śiva, branches are Viṣṇu, Oh, Eternal One, king of the trees, Fortunate One ! Universal Refuge, Giver of fruits !

"Let neither the thunder-bolt nor the axe, nor the wind, nor fire, nor the king, nor the furious elephant cause thy ruin.

"Eye-blinking, eye-brow-trembling, bad dreams, evil thoughts, O Fig-tree, dispel all these, whether divine or human!"

Under the reign of Sūryavarman I (1002—1049 A.D.) who, according to a Pāli chronicle,¹ was the son of the king of Śrī Dhammarāja (Ligor) and probably belonged to the Buddhist religion, as is shown by his posthumous name of Parama-nirvāṇapada, the Khmers wrested from the Mons the valley of Menam. The first Khmer inscriptions at Lopburi date from his reign². One of them, the object of which is to lay down some rules and regulations for the temples, monasteries and hermitages, makes a distinction between the Sthaviras and the Mahāyāna Bhikṣus.³ It is, therefore, probably on the Lower Menam that the Mahāyāna of the Khmers and the Theravāda of the Mons met. A little afterwards, the advance of the Khmers towards the North put them in contact with another race which was, in a short time, to drive them back on the Mekong and finally to wrest from them the hegemony of western Indo-china. It was the *Thai*, descended from Burma.

1 *Cāmadevivāṃsa*, cf. *BEFEO*, XXV, pp. 23 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

3 *Aymonier, Le Cambodge*, II, p. 81.

IV

The first record of the introduction of Buddhism into Lower Burma is that of the Singhalese Chronicles (Dīpa-vaṃsa, VIII, 12, Mahāvamsa, XII, 6, 44) concerning the mission of the theras Sona and Uttara sent to Suvannabhūmi by the council of Pāṭaliputra during the reign of Aśoka. Admitting the historicity of this mission, it does not follow that it marks the beginning of a continued development of Buddhism in these countries. In fact, we lack information on the following centuries.¹ A flash of dim light shows us something of the religious state of Lower Burma towards the 6th century. We owe it to two documents found near Hmawza (Prome), the one is a pair of gold-leaves upon which is engraved the well-known "Thammapariyāya" : *Ye dhammā* etc, followed by some other Buddhist formulas ; the other is a terracotta tablet which bears a fragment of of the Vibhaṅga.² All these texts are in Pāli and written in characters intimately connected with those which were in use in Southern India towards the 6th century of our era.

This is about the time when the study of the Pāli Piṭakas flourished in Kañcipuram (Conjeveram), under the direction of the learned commentator Dhammapāla.³ Now, as Pegu, according to its own traditions, had a continued communication with Kañcipuram⁴ it is tempting to look to that country for the origin of the Hīnayānist school of Prome, which

1 Those of TARANATHA'S *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 262, do not seem to have a very great value.

2 Cf. L. FINOT, *Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme Birman* (Journal Asiatique, 1912, 2, p. 121) ; ID. *Le plus anciens témoignage sur l'existence du canon pâli en Birmanie* (ID., 1913, 2, p. 193).

3 ED. HARDY, *Ein Beitrag zur Frage ob Dhammapāla im Nālandasaṅghārāma seine Commentare geschrieben* in Zeitschrift für D. Morgenl. Gesellsch., 1897, p. 126.

4 M. H. BODE, *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, p. 8.

might have received from there through Thaton its religious culture. That school continued to prosper in the following centuries side by side with a community of Vaiṣṇavas, who has left some remarkable sculptures.¹ The exact time of the destruction of Prome is not known, but it is likely that it took place in the course of the 9th century.²

In 1057, Anuruddha, the king of Pagan, invaded the Delta, became master of Sudhammapura (Thaton) and brought back to his own kingdom the collection of the holy books in Pāli together with several learned monks and dethroned the sovereign. From that time, the Theravāda of Ceylon completely superseded the mighty sect of the Ari, whose cult was a mixture of serpent worship, spirit worship and Tantric Buddhism.³ It is strange that Pegu, which was evidently in a state of civilization more advanced than Pagan, should have left us no literary work anterior to the conquest of Anuruddha and that the first hearth of Pāli literature should have been kindled at Pagan.⁴

Thirteenth century witnesses a general advance of the Thai or Shan race, facilitated by the fall of Pagan dynasty, which followed the Chinese invasions. They overran rapidly the whole Burmese territory and passed onwards into the basin of Menam where they very soon came into conflict with the Khmers. Their first important conquest was that

1 R. C. TEMPLE, *Notes on Antiquities in Ramaññadesa*, Pl. XIII-XIV; L. de BEYLIE, *Prome and Samara*, pt. VII p. 2,

2 M. Harvey, the last historian of Burma, places it "not long after A.D. 800" (*History of Burma*, p. 12). It can not be prior to the embassy of Piao to the court of China in 807 A.D. (PELLIOT, *Two Itineraries*, p. 163).

3 On the Ari, see the excellent memoir of Mr. Charles Duroiselle. *The Ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhism* (Arch. Survey Annual Report, 1915-16, pp. 79-93).

4 The first work is the Kārikā, a treatise on Grammar, written in 1064 A.D. by Dhammasenāpati, a Burmese of Pagan (M. H. BODE, *op. cit.*, p. 15).

of Sukhodaya which was wrested from the Cambodian Governor who had charge of it—by two Thai chiefs. One of these, a vassal of Cambodia, transferred to his confederate the title of Śrī-Indrapatindrāditya, which he has received from his suzerain, and installed him as king in Sukhodaya. That event took place about 1250¹ A.D. The second successor of this king was his son Rāma Khamhéng, of whom we possess a long and curious inscription, drawn up towards the year 1292 A.D.² It tells us that the boundaries of his kingdom extended in the North and the East, up to the Mekong, in the South, up to Ligor (Malay Peninsula) and in the west, up to Hāmsavatī (Pegu). It contains also interesting details on the state of Buddhism at Sukhodaya.

“People in this city of Sukhodaya are given to alms, are given to making offerings. Prince Rāma Khamhéng, lord of this realm of Sukhodaya, with the matrons and nobles of the city, their retinues of servants and maidens, the gentry one and all, both male and female, and the mass of common folk, have reverence for the teaching of Buddha. Every one of them keeps the precepts during the Varṣa. When Varṣa is over, there are the offerings of the Kathin for a month before they are ended. In these ceremonies, they present heaps of money, they present heaps of areca-nuts, heaps of flowers, cushions for sitting and cushions for reclining. The accessories of the Kathin which are offered each year amount to two millions. To perform these ceremonies of the Kathin, they go to the Forest-monastery yonder; and when they return to the town, the procession stretches in line from the Forest-monastery yonder unto the skirts of the plain.

1 G. COEDÈS, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam. I. Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, p. 7.

2 C. B. BRADLEY, *The Oldest known Writing in Siamese. The Inscription of Phia Rām Khamhaeng of Sukhothai* (Journal of the Siam Society, 1909); G. COEDÈS, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff. (The extract given below is borrowed from Bradley slightly altered according to the emendations of Coedès).

There everyone prostrates himself, while the air resounds with the sound of timbrels and lute, the sound of carolling and singing. Whoever likes to sport, sports; whoever likes to laugh, laughs, whoever likes to sing, sings."

"This city of Sukhodaya has four gates exceedingly great. The people throng and press each other fearfully there, when they come in to see him, (the Prince) burn candles, to see him play with fire within this city of Sukhodaya. In the midst of this city of Sukhodaya, there are temple-buildings, there are golden images of Buddha, there is one eighteen cubits high. There are images of Buddha that are great, there are images that are middle. There are temples that are great, there are temples that are middle. There are reverend monks, there are theras and mahātheras."

"Toward sunset from this city of Sukhodaya is the Forest-monastery. Prince Rāma Khamhéng made of it an offering unto Phra Mahāthera, the Saṅgharāja, the scholar who studied the Tripiṭaka unto its end, the head of his order and above every other teacher in this realm. He came here from Śrī-Dharmarāja."

"In the midst of that Forest-monastery is a temple-building that is large, lofty and exceedingly fair. It has an eighteen-cubit image of Buddha standing erect."

From what precedes, it follows that the kingdom of Sukhodaya professed the Theravāda with Pāli as its religious language.¹

Rāma Khamhéng had as his second successor Lūthai, a cultured and learned king, author of a Buddhist Cosmology, entitled *Trailhūmi*. He ascended the throne in 1347 A.D., under the name of Dharmarāja. In 1361, he received the ordination and wore for a time the yellow robe.

At that time, in the Buddhistic world, a growing esteem was shown for the Sīhalagaya, a Singhalese sect,—founded

1 For what follows, cf. Coedès *Inscriptions de Sukhodaya*, pp. 8 ff. and *Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya* (BEFEO, XVII, 2, pp. 36 ff.).

in 1190 by the Talaing monk Chapaṭa—which admitted as valid only the ordinations dating back to the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon. It is under the influence of these ideas that Dharmarāja called from Pegu the thera Sumana, disciple of the thera Udumbara, who had left Ceylon to settle in the Ramaññadeśa. The king of Nabbisipura (Chieng-mai) obtained afterwards from the king of Sukhodaya the permission that Sumana should be sent to him to restore the religion in his kingdom. Dharmarāja was a zealous follower of Buddhism, but this did not prevent him from raising, in the celebrated Mango-grove (Ambavana), by the side of the great monastery which was there (Ambavanārāma), statues of Maheśvara and Viṣṇu.

Under his successors Sukhodaya steadily declined before the growing power of the kingdom of Ayodhyā, founded in 1350, which reduced it first to a small vassal state, then, to complete subjection.

On the other hand, this new state repelled, towards the East, the Khmer kings who had to abandon their capital Angkor, probably in the course of the 15th century.¹ This event marks the disappearance of Hinduism and of Mahāyāna which had, for such a long time, reigned in Cambodia. The whole country now professes the Theravāda which the Thai influence introduced there at the end of the 13th century² and to which the triumph of Siam assured an uncontested hegemony.

L. FINOT

1 BEFEO, XIII, 6, pp. 6 ff. and XVIII, 9, p. 27.

2 Tcheon Ta-Kouan (1296 A.D.) "The *Ch'u-Ku* shave their head..." (BEFEO, II, p. 148). *Ch'u-Ku* = Chan-Ku, "My lord" appellation of the monks in Siam. (Id., xviii, 9, p. 6) This precise detail shows clearly the Siamese origin of modern Buddhism in Cambodia.

Administration of the Bahmani Kingdom

The empire, which Ghiyasuddin Tughlak bequeathed to his son Muhammad Tughlak, ranked in point of extent, population and wealth as the greatest empire not only in the whole of Asia but probably in the whole world. The whole country from the Himalayas on the north to Dvarasamudra on the south, and from the eastern confines of Bengal on the east to Sind and Gujrat on the west, obeyed one sceptre. But this vastness and unwieldy extent of the Delhi empire at a time when there was no telegraphy or steamship, without adding strength and power to the central government, only multiplied its dangers and difficulties. It was well-nigh impossible that an emperor with his seat at Delhi could properly administer a distant province like Bengal or the Deccan or to check in time the centrifugal forces which were constantly at work in those rough days, the result of which was not slow in showing and within a few years after the accession of Muhammad Tughlak the Delhi empire began to crumble down by its own weight. The same thing was repeated during the reign of Aurangzeb when the Delhi empire again became too bulky and the same was true to all mediæval states whenever they had similarly outgrown in extent and territory.

Muhammad Tughlak, no doubt, made heroic attempts to patch up the fallen fabrics of the empire but "Delhi was distant" and while he quelled one rebellion in the Punjab another broke out at the same time in Bengal or the Deccan; in this manner, his attempts were met with only partial success, and before his death, he was convinced of the futility of his attempts to suppress the general spirit of revolt which then prevailed in his kingdom, as he himself said that it was a disease which admits of no cure. This revolting spirit soon spread from the north to the south, and the Amirs of the Deccan like those of Northern India shook off the yoke of

Delhi and established a new centre of Muslim civilization in the south. Thus was established the Bahmani Kingdom as the outcome of a revolutionary movement ; this nature of its origin mainly determined the character of its future government.

It was essentially a military state and the military character of its administration was maintained from the beginning to the end. The high officials of the state were all enrolled in the army list, and were given the command of a prescribed number of horsemen according to their respective rank and position ; every one of them had to render military service to the state on which depended their rank and promotion. (A study of *Burhan-i-maasir* as well as *Ferishta* will reveal this fact).

At the head of the government was the king himself who was the pivot of the whole administrative system and the main-spring, upon which rested the entire political machinery. Like all other Muhammadan states it was a theocratic state with the king as the vicegerent on earth and thus he was the head of both church and state. The king was thus all-powerful in the state in matters whether spiritual or temporal. Although, in strict theory, he was responsible to the learned muslim theologians for his actions and doings and liable to explain to them his conduct, whenever necessary, yet in practice, he was responsible to nobody. And we find that no constitutional body as the parliament of our present day was devised as checks upon the absolute and irresponsible autocrat. No doubt there was a council in which was framed and discussed all important affairs of the state and which the king usually consulted before taking any important step in any direction but we must bear in mind that it was a nominated council and sat merely when the king summoned it and it had no right or power whatsoever to enforce its will upon the sovereign.

Next in importance to the king was the minister. His appointment and dismissal depended solely on the king ; he was responsible to the king alone for his actions and so

long as the kings took an active part in the administration of the state his position was no better than a secretary to register his will and follow his dictation. It was only when the kings slept and passed their time in drinking and merry-making that the ministers stepped into their places and used to guide and control the affairs of the state.

Other important officers of the state were Sahib-i-Arż (one who reviews the army), Dabir (secretary), Dewans, Dawat-Dar (Keeper of Seals), Sayad-ul-Hujjab (Lord Chamberlain), Shahna-i-Phil (Keeper of Elephants), Kur Beg-i-Maisarah (Commander of the left wing), Kur Beg-i-Maimarah (Commander of the right wing), Naib Barbak and the Prefect of Police (*Burhan-i-maasir*, also Iswariprasad's *Mediæval India*).

The Court

The court consisted of the nobles, the muslim theologians, scholars and the musicians. Like all other mediæval states the Bahmani sovereigns spent large sums of money on its splendour. The splendour of the court of Muhammad Shah I is thus described by the **Ferishta**—"He sat on a throne called the **Tukht-i-Feroja**, the frame of which was of ebony, covered with plates of pure gold, inlaid with precious stones of great value.....on the canopy over his seat he caused a golden ball, inlaid with jewels, to be placed, on which was a bird of paradise composed of precious stones, on whose head was a ruby of inestimable price.....He increased the train of his attendants and divided the nobility and officers into four orders, allotting to each specific duties and times for attendance at court. He formed a corps which he styled **Barders**, whose duties consisted in mustering their troops, and in conducting persons to the audience. He had also a band of **Siléhdars**, composed of two hundred youths, selected from among the sons of the nobility to carry the royal armour and weapon; and he formed a body-guard of four thousand men under the command of a nobleman of high rank

styled Meer Nobut. Fifty Siléhdars, and a thousand of the body-guard, attended at the palace daily" (Briggs' *Ferishta*, II, pp. 298-9; *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, printed original, I, pp. 535-6).

Provincial Administration

Allauddin Hassan divided his kingdom into four provinces each of which was placed in charge of a governor who were later on styled as "Tarrufdar" (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, printed original, vol. I). The first province extended from Kulburga on the east to Debal on the west and Raichore and Mudkol on the south; the territory "comprehending Chaul on the sea-coast and lying between Junnar, Doulatabad, Beer and Pertum" formed the second province, Bidar, Indore, Kowlas and the districts in Telingana comprised the third province and Mahur, Rangir and a portion of Berar formed the fourth province. Among these governorships, that of Daulatabad was considered as the most important and the ambition of every great noble had been to seize this part. All these governors enjoyed almost unlimited power within their jurisdictions and each province was, what we may call a "miniature replica of the state." They were in sole charge of the forts within their jurisdictions and the appointment, promotion and dismissal of the commandant and garrison of these forts depended on them alone (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, printed original, vol. I, pp. 532-33).

The result was what might be expected, and the governors very often looked after their opportunity to assert themselves. The extreme vigilance of the kings like Alauddin Hassan and Muhammad Shah I, no doubt, kept in check their arrogant spirit but it is certain that during the reign of most of the other sovereigns who cared little for the administration of the kingdom and passed the greater part of their time in the harem or in the wine-cups they enjoyed uncontrolled power in the provinces. Such state of things continued till the reign of Muhammad Shah III when his great

minister Mahmud Gawan devised some checks upon the power of the provincial governors. He made a fresh territorial distribution, dividing the kingdom into eight provinces, instead of four, as before, thus limiting the jurisdiction of each governor and with it their power also. Next, he still more curtailed their power by limiting their authority to one fort only within their jurisdiction and transferring the control of other forts to officers directly appointed by and responsible to the sovereign (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. II, pp. 502-5 ; printed original, vol. I, pp. 691-92).

These salutary reforms of Mahmud Gawan checked the growing insolence of the Taraufdars for a time and the system worked well under his able guidance and vigilant care. But after his death when the administration grew slack, and the old quarrels of the Deccanies and the foreigners revived, the Taraufdars again raised their heads and finally brought about the dismemberment of the mighty kingdom.

The Judiciary:

In the mediæval age nowhere do we find a regular gradation of courts from the highest to the lowest or any regular judicial procedure. Almost everywhere justice was dispensed with in a rough and ready fashion according to the discretion of the authorities and no written judgment was passed. Punishments were very severe and death-sentence was passed even for a petty offence. Bahmani kingdom too was no exception to this general rule and here also we find the absence of a regular judicial procedure and a regular gradation of courts. Neither was their the penal code in any way modified. Theft, robbery and treason were generally met with death-sentence. Parading through the streets of the cities was sometimes devised as a means of insult and punishment for some heinous crimes. Duelling as a means of settling disputes was practised in the Deccan a little later.

The king was the fountain-head of justice and he used to try cases and redress grievances. Muhammad Shah I

even made a tour annually, "through one quarter of his kingdom when he was employed in investigating the state of the resources, in redressing complaints," etc. (Brigg's *Ferishta* vol. II, p. 326 ; *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol I, printed original, p. 562). But such things were rarely done and we may rest assured that very few cases were actually tried by the kings. In the provinces the governors were certainly empowered with judicial functions but their multifarious duties afforded them little opportunity to devote their time in this direction and consequently most of the cases were, as elsewhere, decided by the village-moots or panchayets, so as regards justice the villagers derived little benefit from the government and they were mostly left to their own fate. Such state of things prevailed not only in the Bahmani kingdom but throughout the whole of India in the mediæval period. In *Burhan-i-maasir* as well as in *Tarikh-i-Ferishia* we get occasional references of Quaazis dispensing justice, but we do not know how they were appointed or what was their territorial limit. It seems that only the large towns or the provincial head-quarters had such Quaazis.

Fiscal System

Land revenue formed the principal source of income of the Bahmani kings. No evidence is still forthcoming as to the exact share taken by the Bahmani sovereigns from the produce of the soil ; but from the materials that are available, one point is clear, that no oppressive exaction was made by the state from the peasantry. On the contray, we find that the sovereigns like Allauddin Hassan, Muhammad Shah I, Mahmud Shah III, and the minister Gawan took special care of the peasantry and encouraged cultivation (see *Burhan-i-maasir* and *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*). By the revenue reforms of Gawan, the cultivators were allowed to pay the revenue either in cash or in kind and under his patronage and vigilant care, the cultivators enjoyed peace, prosperity and happiness which is testified by the accounts of the Russian traveller Athnasius

Nikitin who came to Bidar in 1470 A. D. He said, "the country was populous, the lands well-cultivated, the roads safe from robbers, and the capital of the kingdom a magnificent city, with parks and promenades" (*India in the 15th century*, Hackluyt Society's publication).

The army

Now let us turn our attention to the military administration of the Bahmani kingdom. The army consisted of heterogeneous elements, such as the Turks, Persians, Abyssinians, Rajputs, etc. (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*). This heterogeneous nature of the army was a source of weakness to the Bahmani kingdom and the animosity between the Deccanics and the Foreigners, moreover, told heavily on the efficiency of the army organization. As the Bahmani sovereigns were in constant warfare with their Hindu neighbours, large standing army was a necessity to them. From the account of Athanasius Nikitin we learn that the army of Muhammad Shah III numbered about 300,000 men, and including retainers and camp followers the number came up to 900,000 foot, 190,000 horse, and 575 elephants. The organization was as follows:—"All the higher officials of the kingdom were graded as Mansabdars, from Mansabdars of 2,000 to Mansabdars of 100 and we find that there were four divisions among these Mansabdars. The first division comprised the Mansabdars of 2,000 which were restricted to the Tarafdars of the four provinces. The second division comprised the Mansabdars of 1500, who received the lofty title of Amir-ul-Umra; and the third division consisted of the Mansabdars of 1200. All the Mansabdars between 1000 and 100 were placed in the fourth division and they were designated as Mansabdaran Amiran (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, printed original, p. 616). An Amir of a thousand had the privilege of carrying the Togha, the *alum*, (a banner) and drums as insignia of his order." (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. II, pp. 399). The Bahmani kings encouraged the jagir system and we find that large tracts of land were given to the nobles for their

Maintenance. Innumerable examples of this may be found both in the *Burhan-i-maasir* and *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*. An officer of 500 men got one lac of huns a year (a hun is approximately equal to Rs. 3-8 as.), the officers of a thousand two lacs, etc. But afterwards as a result of Gawan's reforms the salary of the mansabdars was still more increased and an officer of 500 used to get one lac and twenty five thousand huns, and of a thousand two lacs and fifty thousand (Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. II, pp. 503-4). His reforms were so thorough that if the revenues of a jagirdar "fell short of the estimate even by one hun, the balance was payable out of the royal treasury and at the same time if the officers kept one soldier less than the complement, a sum equal to his pay was deducted from the allowances." (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. II, pp. 504-5). Thus unlike the Mughals, the Bahmanis enforced the full number of army.

Such was the administrative machinery of the Bahmani kingdom, and so far as its frame-work was concerned we cannot say that it was in any way worse than that of any other state in mediæval India, but whatever defect there was in it, it lay in the execution. Although we may blame the Bahmani sovereigns for introducing the jagir system as it enhanced the power of the aristocracy and tended to local autonomy, yet if we carefully go through the pages of the histories of mediæval states, whether in Asia or Europe, we find that it was a common mode of paying the servants of the state in the East and the West alike. Under the strong rule of Alauddin Hassan, Muhammad Shah I and Ahmad Shah and under the able ministry of Mahmud Gawan, the administration of the kingdom was quite efficient; and peace, prosperity and happiness prevailed almost everywhere. But during the greater part of its existence, the efficiency of administration was greatly impaired by the lethargy and negligence of the sovereigns, who passed most of their time with the wine-cup in merry-making, and in quarrels and intrigues between the Deccani Muhammadans and the foreigners.

JOGINDRA NATH CHOWDHURY

The Jaina References in the Buddhist Literature

The Buddhist literature contains many important and useful references to Jainism, some of which are as follows :

Let us examine first the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*Dialogues of Buddha*—S.B.B.). In its Kassapa Sīhanāda Sutta a set of ascetic practices is given and it is said about it that the practices given are “accounted in the opinion of some Samanas and Brāhmaṇas, as Samanaship and Brāhmaṇaship.” Rhys Davids ascribes them to the Ājīvika recluses. A similar list of ascetic practices is also given in the *Majjhima Nikāya* as 36 and Prof. H. Jacobi thinks them to be the usages of the Acelaka recluses whom he recognises as the followers of Makkhali Gosāla and his two predecessors (*Jaina Sūtras*, II, xxxi). But now it is a known fact that the followers of Makkhali Gosāla were styled Ājīvikas and those of Pūraṇa Kassapa Acelakas (*ERE.*, vol. I). Most probably the word ‘Acelaka’ was used at that time in a general sense in the same way as the word ‘Śramaṇa’, because we find the Jaina recluses mentioned as ‘Acelakas’ in the Buddhist literature (e.g. Pāṭika Sutta, *D. N.*, Acela Pāṭikaputta was a Jaina). The Jaina recluses styled themselves with this epithet in the Jaina Śāstras, as we shall see below. Consequently the above-mentioned ascetic practices could not be ascribed to the Acelakas, for they were not the followers of Makkhali Gosāla or of any other teacher. We can however take them as those of the Jaina recluses, because the Jainas are known in their Śāstras by the epithet ‘Acelaka’ and because the above practices coincide with those given for them in their Śāstras. In this event these practices could hardly be assigned to the Ājīvikas. Obviously in doing so, there remains another difficulty as well, namely that the Ājīvikas of Buddha’s time were not all strict vegetarians. (See *Jātaka*, I, p. 390 and *Jaina Sūtras*, II, p. 409); and the ascetic practices referred to above put forth

vegetarianism to be practised by its adherents. Hence it seems improbable that they can be ascribed to the Ājīvikas. Probably they have been intended for the Niggaṇṭha samanās (Jaina monks) of Buddha's time. A comparative treatment of them along with the rules of Jaina Muṇis as given in the Jaina Śāstras will convince the reader that they are really meant for the Jaina Muṇis.

Now the very first practice given in the above mentioned list of the Buddhist Sutta is: "He goes naked." Of course today there is a dissension in the Jaina church on this point. The Digambaras agree while the Śvetāmbaras raise their voice against it. But leaving the apparent dissension aside, we come straight to the respective Canons of both the sects. For the Digambaras it is no matter of disagreement. Their earliest authority can be cited in its support. Kundakundācārya of the first century A. D. describes it as an essential duty of the Jaina recluse (See *Pravacanasāra*, pt. III). Another reliable authority is that of the *Mūlācāra* of Ācārya Baṭṭakera. He, too, describes this practice as one out of the 28 root-characteristics or essential duties (*Mūla Guṇas*) of a Jaina Muṇi and describes it in the following way:—

"Vatthājiṇavakkeṇa ya ahavā pattāiṇā asaṃvaraṇaṃ,
Nibbhūsaṇaṃ ṇiggaṇṭhaṃ accelakkhaṃ jāgadi pūjjaṃ." 30.

"A bodily state, void of all garments of hemp and hair, of grass, bark, and leaves and clear of every ornament and covering of decency, i.e. a stark naked state and the heart free from every knot of anger, deceit, etc. is said to be the worshippable Acelaka-ship or nakedness." In the Śvetāmbara Canons, we find also the nakedness to be the feature of a Jaina recluse. In the eighth chapter of their *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, it is styled the 'highest state' of a recluse (*Jaina Sūtras*, I, p. 56).

A naked sādhu is called "Jinakalpi" in the '*Pravacanasāroddhāra Prakaraṇa-ratnākara*' (Bhimsingh Manekji's edition, p. 134). But this division of Jaina Muṇis into Jinakalpi

and Sthavira-kalpī seems not to have been expressed clearly in their older and authentic books, Aṅgas, etc. So it is open to doubt whether it was raised in a later and more self-conscious period. In their *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* there is given a course of practices for attaining the status of a Jaina Muṇi, somewhat similar to that of Digambara Śāstras. The author of the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* first describes the highest order of nakedness ; then passing on to various other rules, he comes again to the attire of a Jaina Muṇi. Here he describes a gradual mode of renunciation for a would-be Jaina Muṇi. Naturally it is not at all possible that a householder would adopt the naked state of a Jaina Muṇi all on a sudden. The summit could be reached by gradual steps only. Hence the Śvetāmbara author, too, first allows a novice, "aspiring to freedom from bonds," to keep on three clothes only (see *Jaina Sūtra*, pt. I, p. 69). Then he exhorts him gradually to keep on two clothes and then one or none (*Ibid.*, p. 71). Now it is quite clear here that the Śvetāmbara author tries to alter a gradual course to suit his conceptions ; otherwise he would have prescribed nakedness as the last compulsory rule. In their '*Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*' a clear evidence of the kind is discernible, for we find in it its sixth and seventh chapters styled "khudda-gāṇiyanṭhijjam" (kṣullaka-nirgranṭhīyam) and "Ailayam" (Ailakam) respectively, though the interpretation of these is not the same there as accepted by the Digambaras. Still it is enough to infer that the writer of this Śvetāmbara Sūtra was quite aware of the older form and meaning of these two words, which are found in the Digambara Śāstras in their original form and meaning as we shall see below. Hence it is safe to assume that the attire of the Jain Muṇis originally was a naked state of nature. The Buddhist [*Divyāvadāna*, p. 165 ; *Jātaka Mālā* (S.B.B.), vol. I, p. 145 ; *Dhammapadatṭhakathā* (PTS.), Visākhāvatthu, vol. I, pt. II, p. 384 ; *Dialogues of Buddha*, iii, 14 ; *Mahāvagga*, 8, 1 ; 5, 3 ; 1, 38, 16 ; *Cullavagga*, 8, 28, 3 ; *Samyutta Nikāya* 2, 3, 10, 7,

and *Dhammapada*, p. 3] and Brāhmanical (*R̥gveda*, x, 136 ; *Varāhamihira-Saṃhitā*, 19-61, 45-58 ; *Mahābhārata* 3, 26-27, *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa, Bhūṣaṇa Tīkā, 14-22) evidences too support the view of the Digambara Jaina Śāstras inasmuch as the apparent attire of a Jaina Muṇi is being upheld by them as nakedness. The Digambara Śāstras describe the preparatory course of renunciation thus : A would-be Muṇi (Udāsīna Śrāvaka) in the preliminary stages of development keeps on at first three clothes ; and as he makes progress on the path he diminishes his wants and keeps only two and then one garment only, i.e. loin-cloth. The latter are called the 'śrāvakas of the highest stage' (Uttama Śrāvaka), and they are also known as Kṣullaka and Ailaka. In the Buddhist literature, we have the mention of these śrāvakas in their similar synonyms as the Digambaras say, i.e. "Eka-vastradhārin" and "white-clothed" ones (*Ind. Ant.*, 43). A later Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa, styles them "Muṇḍa Sāvakas" (Udāsīna śrāvaka), "Niggaṇṭhas" (Uttama śrāvaka) and "Better Niggaṇṭhas" (Naked Muṇi) (*Dial. of Buddha*, S.B.B., Intro. and Fausböll's *Dhammapada*, p. 398). I should here point out that the word "Niggaṇṭha" is not used always in the Buddhist literature in the sense of a Jaina Muṇi. At times we find it used even for a vowless Jaina householder (see my book "Buddha and Mahāvīra"). It seems that it was used at the time of Buddha in the same sense as the word "Jaina" is being used nowadays and the "Arhat" was used for the Jainas during mediæval times. Along with the Buddhist literature, the mention of the Jaina Muṇi in the Brāhmanical literature, too, is in the shape of 'vivasana,' 'dig-vāsa,' etc. (see "Vīra" vol. II) which also supports our view that the ancient attire of the Jaina Muṇis was nakedness, as is still adhered to by the Muṇis of the Digambara sect of the Jainas.

Thus we find that in both the sects of the Jaina, nakedness, which was the ancient attire of Jaina Muṇis, is accepted as an object of worship for the laity and as an essential mark

of the Samanaship, though, of course, the Śvetāmbara school has now altered it to fit its own conceptions ; but in the earliest portion of their *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* it is highly spoken of in its old sense. In this way, we find that the first rule of the Buddhist book referred to coincides with that of the Jaina Muṇis.

In the similar way, the rest of the practices can be traced in the daily routine of a Jaina Muṇi :

Buddhist

2. He is of loose habits (performing his bodily functions and eating in a standing posture, not crouching down as well-bred people do).

3. He licks his hands clean, etc. (after eating ; and not washing them as well-bred people do).

4. (When on his rounds for alms if politely requested to step aside etc.), he passes steadily on...

5. He refuses to accept food brought (to him, before he has started on his daily round of alms).

Jaina

2. This constitutes the 24th (non-bathing), 26th (non-brushing of teeth) and 27th (taking meal in a standing posture) Mūlaguṇas of a Jaina muṇi. See Mūlācāra 31-33.

3. It is known that a Jaina Muṇi takes food in the hollows of his hands and takes the food thus placed without taking it into morsels and turning it from jaw to jaw (see also *Jaina Sūtra*, I, 57). The Buddhist author seems to point here to this practice.

4. It is described in full in the commentary on Eṣaṇā Samiti in Mūlācāra viz. 'Bhikṣāvelāyāṃ jñātvā praśānte dhūmamūśalādi-śabde gocaraṃ praviśen muṇiḥ tatra gacchann atidrutam, na mandam, na vilambitaṃ gacchet. 121.

5. In Eṣaṇā Samiti the recluse is allowed to take only pure food void of 46 doṣas (defilements) and in procuring it he will not have concern of mind, speech and body. It must not be specially prepared for him. So he accepts not food brought to him (*M. Gāthā* 13).

6. He refuses...food (if told it has been specially prepared for him).
7. He refuses to accept any invitation, etc.
8. He will not accept (food taken) from the mouth of the pot or pan, etc.
9. (He will) not (accept) food within the threshold, etc.
10. He will not (accept food) placed within the sticks, etc.
11. (He will) not (accept food) placed within the pestle, etc.
12. When two persons are eating together he will not accept....if offered to him by only one of the two.
13. He will not accept food from a woman suckling baby etc.
14. He will not accept food from a woman talking with, etc.
15. He will not accept food collected...in drought.
16. He will not accept food where a dog is standing.
17. He will not accept food where flies are swarming by.
18. He will not accept fish, nor meat, nor strong drink, nor intoxicants, etc.
6. In it, too, as the Kārita and Anumodanā doṣas are apparent, it is Auddeśika food.
7. The same is the case here.
8. It is Sthāpita or Nyasta doṣa
- 9-10. These are Prāduṣkāra doṣa.
- 11 It is the Unmiśra Aśana doṣa
12. It is Anīśvara Vyaktāvyakta Anīśārtha Doṣa.
- 13-14. These are described among the 35 Dāyaka Aśana doṣas.
15. It is Abhighāta-Udgama-doṣa.
16. It is Daśaka doṣa (see also Jaina-Sūtras).
17. Prāṇi-jantu-vadha doṣa.
18. It requires no corroboration :
"Khīra-dahi-sappi-tela-guḍa-lava-
ṇāṇaṃ ca jam pariccayanam.
Titta-kaṭu-kasāyaṃ vilamadh-
urarasāṇaṃ ca jam cayanam 155.
Chattāri mahāviyaḍḍi ya honti
navañida-majja-maṃsa-madhū.
Kankhāpasamṃgadappāsamjama-
kārtiyo edāo. 156.

19. He is a "One-houser" etc. 19. It is the Vrataparisaṅkhyā-Practice.
20. He takes food only once a day or once every two days, etc. 20. It is the Sākāṅkṣaṇā-kṣana Vrata.

Thus the very first reference in the Buddhist book to the Jainas is of great importance and it gives a more reliable and accurate evidence about the very vexed question of the Jaina Church *i.e.* the attire of ancient Jaina Muṇis. It makes it clear that it was "Digambara" or "Acelaka".

The next reference noteworthy in the aforementioned Buddhist book is to the 'Cātuyāma Saṃvara' of Jaina Muṇis. It is described in the following way in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta :

"A Nigantha, O king, is restrained with a fourfold self-restraint. He lives restrained as regards all water ; restrained as regards all evil ; all evil has he washed away ; and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay. Such is the fourfold restraint. And since he is thus tied with this fourfold bond, therefore is he, the Nigantho (free from bonds), called Gatatto (whose heart has gone, that is to the summit, to the attainment of his aim), Yatatto (whose heart is kept down *i.e.* is under command."

Commenting on this the learned translator remarks that "the series of riddles in this difficult passage is probably intended to be an *ironical imitation of the Nigantha's way of talking.*" Gogerly has caught the general sense fairly enough, but his version is very free, and wrong as to two of the words, and it gives no idea of the oracular form in which the original is couched. Burnouf's rendering is quite wide of the mark. The first of the 'Four Restraints' is a well-known rule of the Jainas, not to drink cold water on the ground that there are 'souls' in it (see the discussion in the *Milinda Pañha*, II, 85-91). Professor Jacobi (*Jaina Sūtras*, II, xxiii) thinks "the 'Four Restraints' are intended to represent the four vows kept by the followers of Pārśva. But this surely cannot be so, for these vows were quite different."

So let us see, what did the Buddhist authors mean by this

'Fourfold Restraint'. We know that the advantages of the life of a Jaina Muṇi are discussed herein. Hence it has concern with the mode of their life. Knowing this we should explore, if any corresponding assertion is traceable in this connection in the Jaina sāstras. Fortunately we easily find such a passage in the *Ratnakarṇḍaka* of Śrī Samantabhadra Svāmī of the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. He defines a Jaina recluse thus :

"Viṣayāśāvaśātīto nirārambho 'parigrahaḥ,
Jñānadhyānataporatnas tapasvī sa praśasyate" 10.

Herein, too, the fourfold characteristics of a Jaina recluse are given. He should be void of all passion and desires (viṣayeṣu sragvanitādiṣv āsā ākāṅkṣā tasyā vaśam adhinatā, tadatīto viṣayākāṅkṣārahitaḥ), should keep himself aloof from all kinds of traffic ('nirārambhah' parityaktakṛṣyādivyāpārah), should wipe off all 'parigrahas' ('aparigraho bāhyābhyantara-parigraharahitaḥ) and remain absorbed in knowledge and meditation of Self. ('jñānadhyānataporatnaḥ' jñānadhyāna-tapāmsy eva ratnāni yasya etadguṇaviśiṣṭo yaḥ sa tapasvī guruḥ 'praśasyate' ślāghyate). Comparing this with the fourfold restraint described in the Buddhist book, of course, we find no particular difference whatsoever. The Buddhist author at the outset says that 'he lives restrained as regards all water.' Now if you take its true sense, it means that a Jaina Muṇi keeps himself quite aloof from every kind of traffic. He could not himself take even the water for his use, which is a very essential thing for the upkeep of our daily life. This could be said in other words that a Jaina Muṇi is quite 'Nirārambhi.' Here perhaps, it might be objected that the Buddhist author has not described this in clear words and as such it is doubtful to take his meaning in the above way. But I would explain this reason of writing in a riddle form, i. e., the Buddhist author meant to imitate the Tirthāṅkara's way of talking (Divya Dhvaṇi) in an ironical fashion; and hence he is scarcely quite clear. This points to the Jaina

belief that a Tirthaṅkara's speech is understood by all, because one 'Māgadha Deva' interprets it in such a way that every creature present at the auspicious occasion easily grasps its meaning. Besides it that the restraint of water is really intended to point the 'Nirārambha' condition of a Jaina Muni is apparent from the fact that taking water for use is a work of a householder, who does not observe the Ahimsā vow in full. Svāmī Baṭṭakera confirms this view, while describing the 'Piṇḍasuddhi' or observances in connection with food. In the gāthā "Adhakammuddesiya ajhovaḥjheya etc." the Ācārya first makes this clear that the Udagama doṣas are concerned with "Adhahakarma" i.e. activities of a layman in arranging for pulling oneself on as a true householder. Hence this 'adhahakarma' has connection with the layman only. The Muni will have nothing to do with his doings, because it is said that in exerting after the worldly business or in procuring water, food, etc. the six kinds of living organs are destroyed. And a Jaina Muni is under vow that he will never cause hurt to any living being by mind, speech and body. So the Adhahakarma i.e. acquiring and arranging food, water etc. rests entirely on an Asaṃyamī (vowless) host. The Saṃyamī (Muni) would have no concern with it. Consequently by referring to the restraint of water, the Buddhist author did mean nothing but the 'Nirārambha' condition of the Jaina Muni, as is denoted in the above Jaina śloka as a characteristic of a Jaina Muni.

Next to it, the Buddhist author says that 'He (Jaina Muni) lives restrained as regards all evil.' This restraint is quite in agreement with the first assertion of Śrī Samantabhadra, that the Jaina Muni is void of passions and desires, which are the sole causes of sin. Hence he lives restrained as regards all evil. Further on, the Buddhist author says that the Jaina Muni has washed away all evil. Being void of all sins, all evil he would naturally wash away. The third mark of distinction in the above Jaina śloka is of the same meaning ; i.e. 'Aparigraha.' Outer and inner,

both kinds of Parigraha, has he washed away. Outer 'Parigraha' is nothing but clothes, house, money, relations, etc. ; and the worldly cravings, infatuations, passions, etc. are the inner 'Parigrahas'. These both a Jaina Muni keeps away from him. Lastly the Buddhist author says that 'He lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay.' Similar is the last assertion of the Jaina Ācārya with regard to the mode of life of a Jaina Muni. He says, the Jaina Muni remains absorbed in the knowledge and meditation of Self, which means, in other words, that he is self-suffused and no evil can touch him. In this way we find the explanation of the 'Catuyāma Samvara' of a Jaina Muni ; and the meaning of this difficult passage of the Buddhist book is quite clear from it. This surely does not refer to the four vows of Pārśva.

If there remains anything in this connection then it is but the words 'Gatatto,' 'Yatatto' and 'Thitatto.' Of course the identical synonyms for them have not come to my notice so far in the Jaina Śāstras, but the meaning of them could be traced in the Jaina Śāstras.¹

The following assertions of the *Iṣṭopadeśa* of Śrī Pūjya Pāda also denote the same fact :—

Abhavac cittavikṣepa ekānte tattvasamsthitiḥ.

Abhysyed abhiyogena yogī tattvaṃ nijātmanāḥ 26.

"He in whose mind no disturbances occur and who is established in the knowledge of the self such an ascetic should engage himself diligently in the contemplation of his soul, in a lonely place."

Bruvann api hi na vrūte gacchann api na gacchati,

Sthirikṛtātmatattvas tu paśyann api na paśyati. 41

Kim idaṃ kīdrśaṃ kasya kasmāt kvety aviśeṣayan,

Svadeham api nāvaiti yogī yogaparāyaṇaḥ. 42. *Ibid.*

"He who has firmly established himself in the knowledge of the self such a one does not speak while speaking, does not move while moving and does not see while seeing. The ascetic immersed in the

¹ See the *Pravacanāsāra* (5, 6, 42) of Śrī Kundākunda Ācārya of the 1st century A.D.

process of self-realisation has no awareness of even his body, being undisturbed by questions such as what is the soul ? What is its nature ? Who is its master ? From whom is it derived ? Where does it reside ? and the like.—(Discourse Divine).

From these it is clear that the meaning of the words used by the Buddhist author are traceable in the Jaina Śāstras. And it is most probable that the Jaina Muṇis were known by these special epithets at that time.

The next reference in the '*Dialogues*', to which I would draw the attention of the reader is the ancient view of a soul in the form of 'Eternalists.' The Buddhist author there expresses the ancient view of the soul. He says that there are sophists who, having recollection of the previous births and dwelling places, etc. declare the eternity of the soul. These he divides into three according to the degree of recollection of previous births. The fourth group of upholders of this very view about the eternity of the soul are said to have reached to this belief by argumentations. All these four kinds of sophists are described to hold that the soul is eternal and the world is giving birth to nothing new, is steadfast as a mountain peak, as a pillar firmly fixed ; and these living creatures though they transmigrate and pass away, fall from one state of existence and spring up in another, yet they are for ever and ever. Now though in connection with these beliefs the Buddhist author has not named the particular sect yet looking at the obvious similarities, I believe that they refer to the Samanas of Lord Pārśva's Tīrtha. In the Jaina Purāṇas we find this exact narration of knowing the past lives and upholding the eternity of the soul and the world. Really the Buddhist author condemns these theories but he has not been successful in his aim, because the above assertion clearly shows that though souls transmigrate yet they remain the same all round, i.e. it points to the Nīścaya (Real) and Vyavahāra (Material) points of view of Jainism which the Buddhist author has failed to discriminate.

Fortunately it coincides with the Jaina narration further

on and the Jaina Śāstras describe the Jaina Munis of Pārśva's Tīrtha of different capacities.¹

Amongst them Kevalajñānī, Śrutajñānī, Avadhijñānī and Vādī should be compared with those mentioned by the Buddhist author. These Munis really confirm their conceptions of the soul and the world in the same way as described in the above mentioned Buddhist passage. A similar list of the followers of Śrī Pārśva is, also, given in the Kalpasūtra.² Thus it seems to hold with much accuracy that the Samanas referred to here who upheld their philosophical speculations in the above way, were Jaina Munis of Śrī Pārśva's Tīrtha.

It is also noteworthy that these references of the authentic Buddhist book of old prove the credibility and authenticity of the Digambara Jaina Śāstras further on than hitherto accepted. From these we, also, see that the Jaina conceptions were the same even near Lord Mahāvīra's predecessor Śrī Pārśva.

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

¹ See *Uttara Purāṇa*, 149ff.

² *Jaina Sūtras*, pt. I.

Old Words and New Will

"I have no words....." So sigh parting lovers, so feels the mother welcoming the dear home-comer, so stammers the man rescued by brother-man, so is aware the seer of hearer of new beauty, new truth. Will throbs as feeling inarticulate.

But where, in calm persistence, man's will is registering and working the what and the how that he has pored over and come to know, there he will seek words, there he will find names. This may be a difficult task. He may find himself as a child in garments outgrown. He may have to clothe himself in garments of unwonted texture and shape. He may not find texture or shape available to clothe the new worthiness in his growth. He will make use of the best he can find. But he will clothe himself. He will find words.

And he will find words in proportion to his interest in the new knowledge ; he will find words commensurate with the value, the worth he assigns to the fresh aspects he has won of life. Where once men *will* strongly about anything not accounted for in their stock of words, they will find a name for it. Language, old and new, is strewn with such increments.

Again, where he has seen effects only and not causes, he will word the effects only. Where he has seen only effects and last, or proximate causes, he will not find names for the deeper lying causes. The day comes when he finds names for these also. And where the cause is that which transcends man's personal, man's racial experience, nor is bounded in his idea by that, he will find names for the cause which grow with his growth.

Thus to say :—the crescent moon when "lying on its back" means windy weather, is to word one effect by another effect. To say : the noble eight-fold path in Buddhism is the way to Nirvāṇa is to express, in terms of the working of the

worthy will, the underlying cause :—that man, as man, wills his welfare in the best way he knows. To name the all transcending Will as *paramâtman*, or *dharma*, or the *summum bonum*, or *ho theos*, or the “power not ourselves that makes for righteousness” is, it may have been, the best available name for the highest fetch in one stage of one people’s growth.

The new, the not seen before, the seen before but not understood—all this we come to clothe in words more or less fitting, more or less happily chosen. And with the new wording our life takes on, by so much, a richer meaning—a yet richer meaning, if the new words are what is called pregnant,—words that not only name the newly found, but point to a yet further harvest of what will come to be wrought, come to be understood, with what we are even now in travail.

I have said that our zest in wording depends much on the worth we discern in that for which we seek new words. Is our welfare in any deep vital sense wrapped up in the new vision, the new synthesis? If we deem it is not, we shall either remain wordless, or at best we shall remain content with old terms, guess-words of our ignorance.

Or again, our zest in wording depends much on the degree there is with us of faith and hope that we may and shall come to know, by our will efforts, things we are now not knowing as things understood, as things we call “natural laws.” Where faith and hope are met by the fiat: “We cannot know. We may not know. We cannot prove,”—there we feel little zest in wording. We are then not persuaded that our welfare is deeply involved in our coming to know these things also as part of our life’s perspective and our life’s equipment. We say: “Let be!” and turn to other things.

Take electricity :—we have always been liable to be “struck by lightning,” but hitherto we, as peoples, have left it at that. Now that we are finding more and more, that

we can enrich our life indefinitely by adapting to this and that purpose a natural force or mode of motion we call electricity (a word built since the Middle Ages), we turn to this adapting or to these new adaptations with zest. And we accordingly enrich our tongue, wording them, with a vocabulary of new terms, from telegraph to marconigram, not one of which is in any dictionary older than the last century.

But take the mode of motion in the man, the woman, who work by body and yet are obviously not body—the mode of motion of them when body dies and is left to ways of motion that are just of body only—the way of disintegration, of resolution into other compounds—here we have as yet not faith, not hope that we can by willed effort come to know, as natural law, the way, the mode of motion thenceforth, of the man, the woman.

And so we have no words ; no words for the next state or stage of life ; no word for ourselves in that next state ; no word for the how or where of it—for to say “above” belongs to the old, dead ideas. We talk of the “dead” when we do not mean that which is dead. We talk of “spirits” when all the while we mean re-embodied man. We talk of “soul” as something which has left “the man,” and we do not mean that. India to some extent has been wiser. For Jain and Buddhist, *devatās* or *devas* are not what we in the west term “gods” so much as men and women in the next state when they have merited happiness. “The ascetic has lied about me,” says an indignant soldier, visitor from “beyond the grave”, to Gotama. “I am not in hell ; I am a *deva* in the Tāvātimsa (the next) world.” And yet so little has been the serious attention devoted to this all-important matter for every one of us :—What is my life’s next step, should the body die to-morrow ?—that most scriptures old and new slur over the whole question and launch us into misty vagueness. And so do they side-track the matter, that we are puzzled to follow up their one clear implication that man, wherever man be, works embodied, not disembodied.

To only two conclusions can we reasonably come:—the first is, that neither does the Indian any more, as yet, than the western mind *worth* the way that is about to be my way, your way. Let them once be persuaded that it belongs, very urgently to our welfare in the deepest sense to be less ignorant than we all are herein, then shall we find words. We shall find words because we shall will to find what we need. The way of the man and the woman will have become as important in our perspective as the way of electricity. We shall “more-worth” the one as we do the other. Electricity brings the earth more to our ken. The science of the world-way will bring the next state more to our ken. We shall know better what to will, what to do, if only we can extend a little further the rays of our light.

The second is, that neither does the Indian mind, any more than the western mind realize and worth the driving power of concerted wills, when once the willed end is *worthed*. Concerted wills have done much, in my country, that the more inert bulk of willers who drifted with tradition did not like or will. We created a navy to save our independence; we approved of plantations, yet we strove to end the slave-trade; we distrusted education, yet we carried out free elementary education to every child; we hated standing armies, yet in three years we created an immense army; we prize our individualism, yet we have come to stand by the League of Nations. All the while the more inert bulk has sneered and drifted, but a sufficient number of concerted willers have willed for the rest and have done the work.

But zest in the new findings of science ignores that which is as yet the blind spot in the eye of science. Zest too, in the study of the past, in the study of men, not ‘man’, turns from that which lies right across the way of you, of me. And the malaria has infected the teachers of the old creeds. They have no new message to give us to place beside the new dogmas of science and history. They tend to pare down their wisdom of the world-way to systems of ethics.

And so we have no words.

When man developed the entrancing sport of naming, he found words for what life's great adventure brought him. We read of Adam naming interesting beasts as they passed before him, even as, long after, Gotama Sakyamuni was depicted as naming the interesting ways of the mind world. Man was slower and clumsier in finding words for the hidden things, the beginnings, the changes, the not fully understood, the unseen not-self.

But in that this was enormously interesting, in that an inner prompting bade him seek refuge from all his many perils, many foes, in an unseen Warding, mightier than himself, he sought after and he wondered about It. He had no words. But some few among the rest had been able to hear, to see where, in the many, was neither hearing nor sight. Some few had either learnt to lend their will to be willed by unseen willers, or were born able so to lend it. To them the many left the wording, the calling of unseen aid. The many called those few their priests, seers, celebrants, "medicine-men", intermediaries, linking them with warders unseen but surely there.

In time the intermediaries having found words of appeal for warding, and having handed them on in fixed forms, with ritual of act enhancing them, the formulas outlived the worders, and the words came to be clothed in the sanctity of things long lasting. But while the words lasted unchanging, men lived and willed, worked and grew, and worded themselves, growing, and changing in what they worthed. So at length the unchanging ritual-words were old and hoary; they were no more the expression of the living will, but in many ways were dying and dead. And the living chanters of them, wording by them the unseen world, became, for all their words, wordless. Men had got round or beyond this or that in the old vision, the old way of picturing. Will had been at work, and was grasping afresh and wording otherwise. Man still looked to the unseen, but

in it he saw a welfare and a warding as a way towards which he had been growing,—past which he would one day grow.

And among these newer willers was here and there a man who had been willed to work in uttering things the many needed for their welfare to know. Such a man felt that the chanters had become mere imitators, repeaters of old things, men of rite and routine, teachers of the husks of truth, unable to guide or to express the newer will which was seeking new wording, or new depth in old wording. He uttered that newer will.

We have such a crisis in the life of India. Along the great watershed of the Ganges, in the sixth century before Christ, the day arose when the hereditary order or intermediaries, the brahmans, had fallen away from being the "live wires" they once had been. Still was it reckoned by all serious souls, brahman and not brahman, that to be seeker and worder of warding in the unseen was work of highest worth. But on the one hand, the brahman still claimed, in virtue of his birth, a class-monopoly in that seeking and that wording, whether in conduct he lived or did not live worthily; on the other hand, it was dawning on an ever greater number, that neither caste and privilege, nor sacrifice and invocation were the way leading to warding by the unseen. A new standard of values was rising. The life of the man it was that made him, or made him not, very brahman, very "worthy (*arahan*)."

And with this new conception of the way to the unseen welfare, the wording of man's outlook thereon had changed. The old words ceased to have weight. To know the Vedas no longer impressed. Sacrifice seemed much ado about something grown unworthy, rites that worried men and tortured beasts, or offered the unfit to the unneeding :—

"For Brahmā feedeth not on food like that !"

And fire-tending and bathing had become empty symbols.

But *śīla* :—here lay the very rock-bed of the true Brahma-life; *karman* :—here was the arena of man's victory or

defeat ; *mārga* :—here was no mere day's journey from village to town. It was The Way. *Samsāra* too was way—a word unknown to the older mantras—it was the way all men must go ; but *Mārga* was the way man might will, or not will to go, the way of the worlds to worlds' end. No longer was life a mere rolling on 'twixt births and dying ; it was a way, a means, of advance past what man was to what he might become, marked by milestones of will-explosions in resolve and aspiration. It was a great tramping, forth-faring host of living creatures, of many worlds, no matter what their birth, breed, station, all bent on progress in the way to way's end. New words too grew up for way's end. *Svarga*, of happiness too earthlike and transient, gave way to *Nirvāṇa*. And *mokṣa*, wording a new feeling for liberty, unknown when, for the imigrant Aryan, only solidarity had been possible, now pointed, with *Nirvāṇa*, to an utter "Well," but conceived negatively as riddance.

The quickened will thus working and wording prevailed till the Cults of the Way were forces to be reckoned with by rulers. Asoka, frightful fratricide at the start, was a notable opportunist. He marked the strength of the Jain and Buddhist ethical reforms, and fathered both them and brahmans very cleverly, establishing in peace and worthiness his blood-based sovereignty.

Here there is much I would say on what befell this new will and new wording in the warders of it as the years rolled on. But let it wait for another occasion. To-day it is with the very great significance in our having words or not having words that I end my say.

To-day we are earnestly looking back over our shoulder at these old-world, and other much older-world, leavings. This has its uses.¹

It is still my conviction that inquiries into the bases—

1 *Buddhism* (Home University Library), p. 248.

also into the growth—of ancient thought may become a living force in present evolution, even as the explorer, carving a way to the forward view, turns to adjust his bearings by some rearward range of hills with kindred trend. But we tend to overlook how heavy a tax it is levying on our will's creative energy in seeking and in wording the new. Because of its absorbing just those wills who are not attracted by research in the world of matter, but who are attracted by research into the world of the man himself, his becoming and his accomplishment, the residue of the will-force left to look at this latter world, and not to look backward, but straight ahead is sadly to seek.

And because there is so little will-work being done not in what man has been, but in what he has come to be and may become, we have no new or quickened wording on it.

In those old-world leavings we shall win no new treasures in the fields where we dig. At the worst we only come upon wardrobes of cast-off clothes, cupboards of bones. At the best we come upon some old world-wording that once was new. If now it has a *new* message for us, it is because we have been slothful and dull not to have worked it out for ourselves. We learn old things we did not know, and that is well so far as it goes. But by this very poring over the old, our life and outlook are moulded by the limitations of the old. We live and think in worlds where the king,—conqueror and little god,—is enthroned, victims at his feet, offerings before him; in worlds with an under-world of prisoner and slave, courtier and woman; in worlds where welfare is of the body, of the dominant class, where growth, success, progress is of material things, rather than of character, or of world-amity; in worlds where the earth is mainly unknown, and the outlook over it very ignorant; in worlds where worth is rated by power, by ruthlessness, by victory in war, not by increase in the welfare of man as man. And all of it, save some immortal world-words, which we either have taken or should

have taken up into our lives, all is dead of a dead world. The living men, the living women, whose were these husks so long ago, what of them? We are deaf, as we dig, to that old world-word which is ever quick:—why seek ye the living among the dead—the live men among the dead things? Of them we say, our eyes full of dead things, they are just “the dead.” Of some thousands mostly nameless, we say “Their name liveth for ever more:—”so we echo the word of a mainly dead writing, wording it in a wrong way because we pore over dead old things.

Those of us who would work and word in the field of man as user of body, are as heirs for whom a kingdom waits, while we are searching to make good our claim to it. Let us enter upon our kingdom. The men of old entered upon theirs. They spent little time recreating their past when they did so. *They worded their present*, when they were really world-worders. They worded truly, for their present, that was *they*. But their present, that is not *we*. We are changed. Not only is our world new; the man, the woman, the soul that we are, is not persistently old. Hence is the wording we have to give no more the same. We can be the vivid, the true worders only of that which we now are. We can word what the past did not know, did not want to know, was not ready to know. Even the child of Asia, even the Indian words new ideals, words his old world-words as he never used to. Into the bottles of ancient wisdom we pour our newer wording of our newer out-growths, the while we say, Let the ancient teaching be our guide! Nay, all the guidance it can give us, as old wisdom, is that we can by it measure how far we have come. Herein it may give us a wording we should else be slower to come by. For it will show us the names we need by the measure of words which the old world had not, and was not aware that it needed.

Our chief creative energy to-day is willing work in the world of matter. There, working to come to know, we find new wording;—names of elemental substances not known

before ; names of elemental forces not dreamt of before : ion, proton, electron ; name of new ways and means for man's rushing to meet and word his fellows, conquering space. Here has creative energy been at work, finding and naming like a very Adam. But we do not see corresponding energy at work in that world of willers who seek to know the new, the unknown, the possibly knowable about not matter but man, about not men's bodies but about the man who uses body, about not the mind or will, but about man as wielding it. Such wills are either burying themselves in the past, seeking the living among the dead, or they are following too servilely, as to mind, the way of research in matter, seeking man in his animal body, his "herd" mind, or explaining him by repressed and stunted growth of will.

Nor are such wills preparing our sons to be more fruitful workers in the field of the man and of the world-way of him and of what he may become. Eight to twelve precious years are too often filled with what we frankly call "dead" languages. This means firstly, that their young outlook is narrowed (we deem complacently it is widened) by the leavings and the wordings of an outgrown past ; secondly, that they go forth among their fellow-men, not equipped as once were learned men, with a common tongue containing such written wisdom as we once had, but crippled and dumb for want of means of access. When they travel or write, they are still self-islanded, self-frontiered by the one and only live tongue they can speak. They are as deaf-mutes. The intermediary they most need is not the priest, but the interpreter. They cannot feel the pulse that throbs in the native tongue of other fellow men ; they cannot discuss together the common good, the outlook before man ; they cannot be forwarding the international training in world-peace, world-citizenship, world-warding.

So do we hinder ourselves where we might be moving on together. So do we make a little world where we might be in a greater one. So do we harness our vision to a corner,

in time and space, of our world, when ours, as man, is the way of all the worlds, of earth and the rest. We are brave workers, but we tie our arms. We are swift to find words where will works, but we gag ourselves. When we have so worked that we can name, our will as from a spring-board bounds forward to find the new name, the "more-word". Now are we wordy, not worded. Our books are largely cud-chewers. We do not know what more-wording may not come, once our wills are set to find new pasture, new worlds to conquer, once we fare forth to word the new and not only and not so very much the old.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

Rasātala or the Under-World

VI

(5) The Kuśa-dvīpa was bounded by the Sea of *Surā* (wine) which is the Sanskritised form of the Sea of *Sarain* as the Caspian Sea was called.¹ The Sea of *Sarain* is perhaps a corruption of the Sea of *Shirwan* by which name the Caspian Sea was known; or perhaps the Sea of *Surā* is a corruption of the Sea of the *Surabhis* or Khorasmii, as they lived in Kharism close to the Caspian Sea²: at least the northern portion of the Caspian Sea was called the Sea of *Surā*. It should be stated here that both *Surabhi* and *Surā* (wine) rose from the *Kṣīra Sāgara* when it was churned by the gods and Asuras.³ It is not likely that "Sarain" could have been derived from Sari, the capital of Mezanderan, a very important trading town, which, however, is about nine hours' journey from the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.

1 Sir Henry Yule's *Marco-polo*, vol. ii, p. 494.

2 *Mbh.* Udyoga, ch. 109.

3 *Viṣṇu P.*, pt. I, ch. 9.

In the *Varāha Purāṇa*¹ Kuśa-dvīpa is said to be bounded by the Sea of Kṣīra, which, as stated before, is the Sanskritised form of Shirwan, that is the Caspian Sea. Kuśa-dvīpa derived its name perhaps from the Kushans, a very powerful tribe of the Huns, who were also called the Great Yue-chis or **Haitalite Huns**,² and who lived between the Jaxartes and the Chu rivers.³ Their country was called Kushan⁴ which was included in this *dvīpa* or division. A section of this tribe called the Little Yue-chi occupied Kabul, and the famous Kaniska of Gandhāra belonged to this dynasty. It is however more probable that Kuśa-dvīpa derived its name from the mountain called *Caucasus* which is another form or corruption of Koh Kus or the "Mountain of Kosh" or Kuśeśaya mountain of the *Purāṇas*, included in this *dvīpa* (division). The word *Kuśa-dvīpa* still subsists in the name of *Circassia* (Cir-kosh-ia) and *Caucasia* (Koh-kas-ia). Kuśa-dvīpa appears to have been the original home of the **Daityas** and **Dānavas**. (6) Krauñca-dvīpa was bounded by the *Dadhi Sāgara* (Sea of Curd)⁵ or the Sea of Aral which was most probably called the Sea of *Dahae* from a famous Scythic tribe which lived on the Upper Jaxartes and evidently on the shore of this lake.⁶ The whole of Central Asia was called after their name "the country of the Dahis"⁷ The Sea of Aral was also called *Daria-i-Kharism*, and it is stated that the Caspian Sea has communication with the Sea of Aral or in other words, the Sea of the Inspissated Milk communicates with the Sea of Curdled Milk.⁸ The word '*Aral*' in Turkish

1 *Varāha P.*, ch. 87.

2 Dr. Modi's *Early History of the Huns* in *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 568.

3 Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, ch. x, p. 218.

4 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 569.

5 *Varāha P.*, ch. 88.

6 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 548.

7 *Farvardin Yast* (xiii) in *SBE.*, vol. xxiii ; *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, p. 548.

8 Vambéry's *History of Bokhara*, p. 9 note.

means 'between', that is, between the Jaxartes and the Oxus.¹ It is therefore a descriptive name. The Krauñca-dvīpa most probably derived its name from Kuchar, Koutcha, or Kucha which in ancient time constituted one of the four territories of Eastern Turkestan and an important Buddhist settlement. It was situated on the great caravan route between the East and the West.² (7) Plakṣa-dvīpa is also called Śveta-dvīpa³ and Gomeda-dvīpa.⁴ This Dvīpa is called Śveta, because the river Śvetā, now called the Swat, flowed through it and it comprised the Swat valley known in ancient times by the name of Udyāna. The inhabitants of this Dvīpa were worshippers of Viṣṇu,⁵ of course, in his form of Buddha. It is called Plakṣa-dvīpa as it derived that name from a Plakṣa tree, now called Pilu tree (*Salvadora Persica*). It is recorded by Sung-yun that Buddha, when he visited Udyāna, planted there a Dantakāṣṭha (tooth-stick) which grew into a lofty tree. The Tartars called it Polu tree.⁶ It is called Gomeda-dvīpa from the Gomeda mountain, as the Altai Range was called evidently from the Gobi desert, of which it formed the northern boundary, and a chain of this mountain traverses the desert on its western side. It was bounded on one side by the *Lavaṇa Sāgara* or the Indian Ocean⁷ and on another side by *Svādu-jala* (sweet-water),⁸ which is perhaps the Sanskritised form of *Tcha-dun*, a river of Mongolia, *Tchi* being a Turkish word for river. It also appears from the Bhāgavata⁹ that the river Aṅgirā is evidently the river Angora which falls into the Lake Baikal in Siberia. Śveta-

1 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, p. 163.

2 Bower *Manuscript*, Introduction, p. 1; Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 187.

3 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. 12.

4 *Varāha P.*, ch. 89.

5 *Kūrma P.*, ch. 49.

6 *Travels of Sung-Yun* in Beal's *Records of the Western Countries*, Introduction, p. xcvi.

7 *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 52.

8 *Kūrma P.*, ch. 50.

9 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 20.

dvīpa contained a *varṣa* (country) called *Uttara* (north) Kuru-dvīpa, the corruption of which is Kor-ia, which was situated on the south of the Northern Ocean.¹ There can be no doubt therefore that Plakṣa-dvīpa comprised all the countries to the north of India, including China, Mongolia and a part of Siberia. Some of the Purāṇas confound Plakṣa with Puṣkara-dvīpa. The seven principal *divisions* called "*Mahā-dvīpa*" in the Agni Purāṇa comprised sub-"dvīpas" or "Dias," which meant *countries*, as may be traced in Assuria (Ashur-dia), Armen-ia (Ramaṇa-² or Rāmaṇiyaka-dvīpa), Sarma-tia (Sarma or Saramā-tia or dia, the country of Saramā), Kor-ia (Kuru-dvīpa), Med-ia (Madra or Mad-dia), etc., where "ia" stands for "dia." *Asia* is a corruption of *aspa* (or *aswa*) and *dvīpa* (*dia* or *ia*); it means the region of horses, i.e. the home of the Turanian race, *Tur* implying the fleetness of a horse. Similarly Arab-ia means the country of the Arabs, Mongolia the country of the Mongols. In short *dvīpa* or its corruption "*dia*" or "*ia*" when applied to a "*Mahā-dvīpa*" meant a "*division*," when applied to a sub-"dvīpa" in any *Mahā-dvīpa*, it meant a "*country*."

It will be remarked that of the seven divisions into which Asia was divided, the Jambu-dvīpa (India) was inhabited by the Indo-Aryans. The Śāka-dvīpa, of which the northern boundaries were the Caspian Sea and the river Ikṣu or the Oxus, was inhabited by the Iranians and the Turanians, that is those Turanians who had come under the influence of Indian civilisation, and hence the Oxus was considered to be the "old boundary line between Iran and Turan."³ Śālmala-dvīpa was inhabited by people who belonged to the Semitic race, while the

Names of
Sāgaras
are Tura-
nian words
absorbed in
the Sans-
krit lan-
guage.

1 *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 44, vs. 37, 38; ch. 48, v. 12.

2 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 20, where *Ramaṇaka* is mentioned as a *varṣa* (country) in Śālmala-dvīpa.

3 Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 11.

remaining four divisions were exclusively occupied by nations who belonged to the Turanian stock. Excepting the name of *Lavaṇa*-(salt) Sāgara which surrounded Jambu-dvīpa, with the state of which the ancient Hindus were fully acquainted, the names of the other six Sāgaras were borrowed from the Turanian language and absorbed in Sanskrit and transformed into words which closely resembled the original words in sound, but were quite different in meaning, as *Shirwan* was changed into *Kṣīra* (milk), *Sarain* into *Surā* (wine), *Erythras* into *Ghṛta* (clarified butter), *Dahi* into *Dadhi* (curd), *Oxus* (Akṣu) into *Ikṣu* (sugarcane juice), and *Tcha-dun* into *Svādu-jala* (sweet-water). The ancient Hindus cannot possibly have believed in such absurdities as oceans of Milk, Curd, Sugar, Cane-juice, etc. We must give them credit for possessing at least some amount of common sense. The names were records of old nomenclature; they underwent changes by lapse of time, and then ridiculous interpretations were put on them during the dark age of the Kali-yuga, showing symptoms that generally precede the downfall of a nation.

It will be observed that notwithstanding the changes that have been brought about by the lapse of time in the names of places, rivers and mountains and the names of the inhabitants, both in Sanskrit and Turanian, of Rasātala and Scythia, the resemblance in the corresponding names in the two languages is yet remarkably striking, and the names are so considerable that their resemblance cannot be considered as merely accidental. It would not be reasonable to deny the identity of the two countries, especially when the inference based upon the resemblance of names is corroborated by various other facts and circumstances. Further researches will clear up many obscurities which still hang round several facts connected with the subject, and it is hoped that some of the hymns at least of the Rg-Veda, which have been interpreted by Sāyaṇa and other commenta-

Identity of
Rasātala
and Scy-
thia.

tors as figurative descriptions of Nature when her elements are at tumultuous war or in serene repose, may be found possible to explain by the light of traditions of other nations who lived near the original home of the Aryans, as expressions of feelings of the human heart based upon facts and incidents of real life. According to Professor Weber the major portion of the R̥g-Veda Samhitā was composed before the Aryan migration to India.¹

It appears from the ancient Hindu works that even at a very remote period the Scythic or Hunnic tribes extended their inroads to India in search of food and fodder. They were a nomadic race, and did not till or cultivate land, but lived only upon milk and fishes, and the roots of some trees and the half-cooked flesh of animals. At the time of the Rāmāyaṇa, as stated before, we find the Massagetæ or "the Great Gate", as symbolised in Jātāyu, occupying Daṇḍakāraṇya, and nearly the whole of the Deccan was interspersed with Rākṣasa settlements. They were Turanians, and it is very probable that the language introduced by these races formed the basis of the "Tamulic or the language of the Deccan", one of the four classes into which Professor Max Müller has divided the Southern Turanian family of language.² The Rāmāyaṇa also mentions a colony of Yakṣas in the Himalaya and a tribe of Daityas under Madhu in Madhuvana or Mathura,³ and it likewise speaks of Gandharva-deśa, the Gadara of the Behistun inscription, where a tribe of Scythic Gandarians must have established itself long before the Rāmāyaṇa was composed.⁴ The Haihaya tribe lived on the bank of the Narmadā at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa.⁵ They evi-

1 Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 63.

2 *Science of Language*, vol. I, p. 334.

3 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, chs. 31, 74.

4 *Ibid.*, Uttara, ch. 113.

5 *Ibid.*, Uttara, ch. 36.

dently belonged to the Hunnic tribe of Hui-he,¹ the ancestors of the Usbeks who had originally settled near Khotan, Kashgar, and other places. At the time of the Mahābhārata almost the whole of the Punjab, called Āraṭṭa, was occupied by Scythic tribes, especially by the Bāhikas.² The Bāhikas lived in the country of Madra, and therefore they were also called Madras. In short, according to Pāṇini and Patañjali Bāhika was another name for the Panjab.³ It appears that Bāhika is an abbreviation of Bālhika of the Rāmāyaṇa,⁴ and Bālhika is the Sanskritised form of Balkh, the capital of Bactriana.⁵ It is therefore clear that Scythic tribes from Bactriana occupied the Punjab at a very remote period. It appears also that the Suparṇa or Garuḍa tribe lived in Guzerat. From the story of Ulapī it appears that a Hunnic tribe lived at Gaṅgādvāra or Hardwar.⁶ There were Rakṣasa settlements also between Vāraṇāvata and Ekacakrā,⁷ that is between Mirat and Itawah; and also in Magadha.⁸ These tribes belonged to the Turanian race. There can be no doubt that at the time of the Mahābhārata many Hunnic tribes inhabited various parts of India,⁹ and the snake-sacrifice of Janmejaya means only a campaign of extermination of the Nāgas or Huns to avenge the treacherous assassination of his father Parīkṣit by a Nāga of the Tochari tribe. It is stated that the first tribe whom Alexander met after leaving the great confluence at Uchh in Sindh, when he invadded India in the 4th century B. C., was the Sogdoi, whom Saint-Martin considers to be the same as Sogdians,¹⁰ that is the people of

1 For the name, see Prof. Max Müller's *Science of Language*.

2 *Mbh.*, Karṇa P., chs. 44. 45.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I. p. 22.

4 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā K., ch. 58.

5 *Brhat-saṃhitā*, ch. 18; *JASB.*, 1838, p. 630.

6 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 214.

7 *Ibid.*, Ādi, chs. 155, 160.

8 *Ibid.*, Sabhā, ch. 16.

9 See Fausböll's *Indian Mythology*, p. 29.

10 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 354.

Sogdiana or Sogdoi, the Chagzai of the Mahomedan historians, who must have invaded Sindh and settled there at least at the time of the Mahābhārata,¹ which classifies the people of Sindh with the Madrakas and other Scythic tribes in their manners and customs, and states that they are Mlecchas and irreligious and that they are natives of a sinful country. Sogdiana is the modern kingdom of Bokhara, and hence the Sogdoi of Sindh at the time of Alexander must have belonged to the Hunnic tribe called Ephthalites, and also Haetalites, who lived in the valey of the oxus and whose principal centres were Balkh, Bokhara and othor places.² It is therefore evident that from the name of Ephthalite or Elāpatra of the Mahābhārata and Buddhist works, their principal town was called Pātāla (modern Hyderabad)³ and the whole of the Indus Delta was called Patalene.⁴ The Purāṇas⁵ also refer to the Scythian inhabitants on the banks of the Yamuna, Gumti and Nerbuda. The names of Negapatam, Uragapura (modern Uraiyur or Trichinopoly), etc. indicate Hunnic settlements in Southern India. To an unbiassed mind many of the arguments advanced by Dr. Spooner in favour of the identity of the Mauryas with the Mauravas appear to be reasonable.⁶ Maurava was the name of the people of Merv (Marv), and

1 *Mbh.*, Karṇa P., ch. 41.

2 Dr. Modi's *Early History of the Huns* in *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv, pp. 562, 567.

3 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 356. Pātāla has also been identified with Tatta and Minnagar (Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. I, p. 27; Schoff's *Periplus*), Min or Ming being the name of a tribe of Usbeks. Min is also an Indian name for the Scythians (McCrindle's *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 109 note).

4 Strabo, bk. XV, ch. I, 33; McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 183 note.

5 *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, chs. 22, 23.

6 Dr. Spooner's *Zoroastrian Period of Indian History* in *JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 406 f.

Merv is the ancient Margine or Marginia of Ptolemy,¹ and there is a close resemblance in sound between Maurya and Margine, and Merv according to some authorities was the "cradle of the Aryan race".² Magadha, according to Dr. Spooner, was peopled by the Magas or Magians of Scythia.³ According to the Purāṇas, Magas, the Magi of Strabo, were the priest class, and the Magadhas formed the warrior class of Śākadvīpa.⁴ The statement of Dr. Spooner appears to be confirmed by the Mahābhārata⁵ which says that Prṛthu assigned Magadha to the Māgadhas for their residence, though the word "Māgadhas" there mean "panegyrists" which is the later application of the term, but it should be observed that the priest of Prṛthu was Śukrācārya, who was the Daitya-guru. Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, was an Asura.⁶ The story of uniting the two parts of his body by a Rākṣasī named Jarā at his birth is a figurative way of saying that he was born of a Hindu father by a Hunnic mother. Dr. Spooner has rightly come to the conclusion that the Śākya tribe of Kapilavastu, to which Buddha belonged, originally came from Śākadvīpa, as the custom of marrying one's own sister, as the ancestors of the Śākya used to do, was prevalent among the Scythian and other non-Aryan races, especially those who followed the Zoroastrian religion.⁷ Vistaspa, king of Bactria, married his sister Hutos, and the ancient Egyptians married their own sisters.⁸ The word Śākya has evidently been derived from the word Śaka. Manu⁹ mentions some tribes as *Vrātya Kṣatriyas* for the ruling class called

1 Bretschneider's *Mediæval India*, vol. ii, p. 103.

2 *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 407.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 422-27.

4 *Kūrma P.*, Pūrva, ch. 49; *Strabo*, bk. xv, ch. iii, 13-15.

5 *Mbh.*, Śānti, ch. 59.

6 *Ibid.*, ch. 340.

7 *JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 438-40.

8 Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 50, 51.

9 *Manusamhitā*, x, 20, 22 :—

*Jhallo mallaś ca rājanyād vrātyān nicchivir eva ca,
nataś ca karaṇaś caiva khaśo drāviḍa eva ca.*

“Rājanya” who were without the *Samskāra* or sacrament of the sacerdotal thread, which signifies that they were foreign non-aryan “warriors” admitted into Hindu community, that is, they were invested with the sacred thread after the expiry of the prescribed period of initiation, and he mentions among them Jhalla, Malla, Nāṭa, Karaṇa, Khasa, Draviḍa and others. The Jhallas were the Jhala clan of the Rajputs who from their original settlement in Sindh migrated into Kathiawar (Surāṣṭra). They gave their name to the division called Jhalawar. The Mallas were evidently the Mallas of Kuśīnagara where Buddha died, and the Nāṭas were the Nāṭa (or Nāya) clan of the Kṣatriyas of Kuṇḍagāma, a suburb of Vaiśālī, from which Mahāvīra, the founder of Jaina religion, hailed.¹ According to Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa the Karaṇas were a Scythic tribe of Central Asia and were probably the inhabitants of Khaurana of Ptolemy.² The word *Karaṇa* and *Kuṣāṇa*, Kwei-shwang of the Chinese travellers, are according to Beal, only different forms of the same word. The Yue-chi king Kaniska was a *Kuṣāṇa*, and his inscribed coins bear the legend of “Kanyiski Korano”. The Yue-chis were a tribe of the Turks.³ The Karaṇas form a well-known Hindu caste and live in various parts of India; they have now become thoroughly Hinduised. The Karaṇas therefore were originally inhabitants of “Skythia” and were Śakas. According to Professor Monier Williams, the Khasas or Khasias are the representatives of “wild Tartar tribes” who marry their brothers’ widows; they were perhaps the Cossei of Strabo. The Draviḍas or Dravidian races came from Central Asia, and their language shows that they

1 Dr. Hoernle’s *Uvasagadasao*, p. 4.

2 *JASB.*, 1902, pp. 162, 163—S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa’s *Vrātya and Sāṅkara Theories of Caste*.

3 Beal’s *Records of Western Countries*, vol. I, p. 56 note 37.

were Turanians.¹ Prof. Monier Williams calls the Draviḍas "out-caste Kṣatriyas" by which he means "Vrātya Kṣatriyas"² The peculiar custom by which property of the Dravidian races, as the Nairs, etc., of Malabar, Travancore, Cochin and other parts of Southern India, devolves upon the sisters' sons, if it be not the survival of their ancestral custom of marrying sisters at a remote period, indicates that the type of polyandry that prevails among the Nairs and others, is somewhat similar to that which prevailed among the early Semites.³ Ragozin also thinks that the Dravidians were Nāgas, not because they were Huns, but because the Serpent (Nāga) was their symbol of the Earth.⁴ The story of Paraśurāma shows that the real Kṣatriyas of India were nearly extinct at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa by their constant wars with the foreign invaders and that the conquerers were afterwards admitted into the Hindu community as Vrātya (or spurious) Kṣatriyas in the place of those whose countries they occupied. During the Vedic period the Vrātyas were considered as nomads⁵ which indicates that they were Scythians ; other non-Aryan immigrants also settled in India. The Vrātyas were not Mulattos, as the word has been interpreted.⁶ On account of these Hunnic settlements we have got counterparts of some cities and countries of Central Asia in India, e.g. for Bokhara we have Puṣkara in Rajputana, for Balkh Bālḥika or Bāhika, for Media Madra. The long residence of the Scythic tribes in India brought them into close contact with the Aryans. Hence we find intermarriages

1 Prof. Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, p. 312 note, Intro. p. xxx, note 2 ; *Śukranīti*, iv, 5, 98 ; Mr. E. J. Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 29.

2 *Indian Wisdom*, p. 236, note 2.

3 *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. viii, p. 467.

4 Ragozin's *Vedic India*, p. 308.

5 *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 342.

6 *JASB.*, 1874, p. 254.

taking place between these two different races at the time of the Mahābhārata. Yayāti married Śarmiṣṭhā, daughter of the Daitya Vṛṣaparvan, and Devayānī, daughter of Śukrācārya who was the priest of the Daityas and grandson of Hiranyakaśipu by his daughter Kāvya.¹ Pāṇḍu married Mādri, sister of Śalya, king of Madra, who belonged to the Scythic tribe of Bālḥika or Balkh. Bhīma married a Rākṣasī, and by her he had a son named Ghaṭotkaca²; and Arjuna married Ulapī, daughter of a Nāga³. Kāṁsa, king of Mathurā of the Bhoja dynasty, married Jarāsandha's daughters,⁴ and Kṛṣṇa's grandson Aniruddha married Ūśā, daughter of Asura Bāṇa⁵. That such marriages have taken place between the princes and princesses of India with those of the Huns is a matter of history. A Śātavāhana prince named Gautamiputra Śātakarṇī, who was a Hindu, was married to a daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, who was Śaka; Yaśaḥkarṇa, king of Cedi, was married to a Huna princess Ahalladevi⁶. Such marriages and intercourse with Hunnic tribes must have influenced Hindu civilisation and produced very great changes in the manners and customs of the ancient Hindus. Many of the customs were modified, and many new customs and practices, borrowed from the Turanian races, came into existence. It is very probable that Rākṣasa and Gāndhārva forms of marriage were adopted by the ancient Hindus, as the terms indicate, from the Scythic races; and the description of a Gretna Green marriage of the Turks, where the bridegroom was unable to pay the

1 *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 65.

2 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 155.

3 *Ibid.*, Ādi, ch. 214.

4 *Harivaṁśa*, chs. 84, 90.

5 *Ibid.*, chs. 187, 188.

6 See Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Foreign Elements in Hindu Population* in *Ind. Ant.*, January, 1911, pp. 15, 21.

dower fixed by the parents of the bride, closely tallies with that of the Rākṣasa form of marriage.¹ Among the Tartars of Mongolia, though the match is arranged by the parents of the bride, and her "price" is settled by them, yet they make a show of fight and offer resistance to the bridegroom when he comes to their house to take away the girl betrothed to him to perform the ceremony at his own house². The Gāndharva form of marriage is performed simply by exchange of garlands without any nuptial rite. It was a sort of Morganatic marriage, but the son was entitled to inherit the father's rank and property.

Centuries passed away from the time when the Aryans first migrated to India to the time of the composition of the Purāṇas. By that time the real significations of the terms *Nāgas* and *Rasātala* were quite forgotten. *Nāgas* became merely serpents and not Huns; and as serpents live in holes and consequently below the earth, Rāsātala where the Huns lived, that is the valley of the Jaxartes, came necessarily to mean the region below the earth or the *Under-world*; and as a logical sequence, when one desires to go to Rasātala, one must go to it through a hole as a serpent does. It was for this reason that the Rāmāyaṇa relates that Rāvaṇa in his expedition to Rasātala entered it through a hole near Mount Meru, and that Sāgara's sons entered it through a hole made by them at the mouth of the Ganges. Any hole anywhere on the surface of the earth was good for the purpose of entering Rasātala. The prince Kuvalayāśva entered Pātāla in pursuit of a daitya through a hole.³ There was a tradition that these Nāgas lived near the banks of rivers; of course, the rivers

1 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii, pp. 37, 48; *Bhāgavata*, x, ch. 54.

2 M. Huc's *Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China*, vol. I, pp. 184, 185.

3 *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 21.

were the Oxus and the Jaxartes ;—this evidently led to the idea that Rasātala could also be entered through the beds of rivers. It is therefore that we find Akrūra entering the Nāga country or Rasātala through the Yamunā, Kuvalayāśva through the Gomatī and Cyavana through the Narmadā.¹ According to the Buddhist writers also the Nāgas lived not only below the earth, but also in lakes and rivers.² The association of the Huns or Nāgas, as they were called, with serpents, resulted not only in changing the meaning of Rasātala from the valley of the Jaxartes to the Under-world, where access was only possible from the surface of the earth through holes and crevices, but also in the division of the region into seven spheres, one above the other, so that the inhabitants thereof consisting of birds, beasts, reptiles and demons, who were inimical to one another, could live in peace and safety. By a further stretch of imagination, it was conceived that the rays of the Sun never penetrated into Rasātala which was below the earth, but that the whole region was illuminated by the brilliant flashes of light emitted by the gems which adorned the heads of the serpents.³

The real meaning of Rasātala, the situation of the region, and the character of its people were forgotten in time. The seven *Lokas* or the worlds above the earth were subsequently invented, analogous to the seven spheres of Rasātala called "Sapta Pātāla" which were below the earth. This circumstance alone has served a good deal to put off investigation from the right track, leaving an impression behind that everything the ancient Hindus asserted which was not concerned with India was fictitious, especially when anything was limited to the mystic number "seven," which

Ritter's
view of
Pātāla.

¹ *Devī-Bhāgavata*, iv, ch. 7.

² *Yamunā* and *Ghaṭaka Jātakas* in Cowell's *Jātakas*, vol. I, p. 270 ; vol. iii, p. 174 ; vol. vi, pp. 44, 80.

³ *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 34.

came to be regarded as the hall-mark of pure imagination. It was, however, Ritter only who thought that Pātāla was a country in the west and not a figment of the imagination, though he did not assign to it any definite place. He says, "Pātāla is the designation bestowed by the Brāhmaṇas on all provinces in the west towards sunset, in antithesis to Prasiaka (the eastern realm) in the Ganges-land : for Pātāla is the mythological name in Sanskrit of the Under-world, and consequently of the land of the west."¹ With regard to the inhabitants of Pātāla as Dānavas, Daityas and Rākṣasas, Mr. Pargiter says that the older Paurāṇic accounts treat them as men, whereas the later Brahminical accounts as demons.²

We have endeavoured to reclaim a lost and forgotten country, buried in the debris of time in the shape of traditions, legends, fables and superstitions. Some of the best European scholars, who consider that some of the narratives in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, which embody many of the earlier traditions, as for instance, those regarding the seven Dvīpas, the seven Sāgaras, Rasātala, called also the "seven Pātālas," etc., are "wild ideas and absurd figments." But they are not to blame. The old Purāṇas mentioned by Manu and others,³ which contained the accounts of the traditions, no longer exist. The Purāṇas, which are now extant and which have been adopted by Brāhmaṇas as their religious authority, are later compilations ; they were composed and redacted when the traditions about the earliest occurrences had become distorted by lapse of time. This led their

¹ Quoted in McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 183 note.

² Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 13, 290.

³ *Manu-Saṃhitā*, iii, 5, 232 ; *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, vii, 1, 4 ; Professor Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, pp. 492, 493.

authors to interpret them in their own way and embellish them according to their own imaginary notions. Mr. Pargiter rightly observes with regard to ancient Indian historical tradition : "It is not to be put aside as wholly unworthy of attention, nor is it to be summarily explained by *prima facie* comments," especially as our knowledge of the most ancient times in India rests mainly on tradition.¹ We must avoid scepticism regarding the historical basis upon which the tradition is based, and at the same time we should avoid euhemerism, as it may lead to error. Independent evidence, if any, certainly does much to strengthen and confirm our conclusions. Besides traditions, which in many other cases have now-a-days been treated with greater respect by science itself, and which on many occasions serve as a clue and guide to real facts which lie at their basis,—the facts and circumstances adduced as evidence, together with a comparison of the physical features of the country and the condition of the people of Rasātala as described in ancient Hindu works with those of Turkestan or Tartary (both these names being synonymous with each other),² as recorded in the Avesta and in the works of travellers, go a great way to establish the identity of Rasātala with Central Asia. There is a strong resemblance in the names of towns, rivers, lakes, and mountains of Rasātala with those of Turkestan, and these resemblances could not have been the result of accidental coincidence, as for instance, we recognise Bhogavatī in Bākhdi, Aśma in Aksu, Bali-ālaya in Balkh, Maṇimayī in Maymeni, Bibhāvārī in Bāveru or Babylon, Rāmaṇīyaka in Armenia, Alamba in Albany, Ikṣu in Oxus, Rasā in Araxes, Vāruṇa in Vehrkanā, Meru in Meros. There is a "golden river" in Rasātala (the Hāṭakī) and a "golden river" also in Central Asia (the Zarafshan). The names of the seven

1 Mr. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 13, 14.

2 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. II, pp. 214, 221 ; cf. pp. 287, 295, 297 ; vol. III, pp. 125, 210 ; *JBRAS.*, vol. XXIV, p. 545.

“spheres” or provinces of Rasātala correspond with the names of the Huns, or rather of the various sections of the Huns, who dwelt in Scythia. All these and other circumstances mentioned before could not have been the result of mere chance. Of course, traditions, facts and circumstances taken singly are not strong enough for the purpose, each of them being a link in the long chain of circumstantial evidence, but the cumulative effect of all of them considered together makes out a strong case in favour of that identity. Yet there remains much that should be cleared up, as time has distorted and transformed the names of places and people out of recognition, and dimmed the memory of ancient events as recorded in the traditions which have become susceptible of different interpretations from different points of view. Stripped of its grotesque verbiage, the story of Rasātala, as given in the Purāṇas, is founded upon traditional chronicles which again are based on a substratum of facts. Future researches will no doubt throw much light upon many things that remain obscure and explain many facts which have become blended and associated with the remote past, especially those which are connected with the original abode of the Aryans, which, notwithstanding the attempts of eminent scholars to elucidate them, are yet involved in considerable obscurity, as their conclusions on this point do not agree; but there can be no doubt that the places and peoples mentioned in ancient Hindu works, when correctly identified, will help a good deal in arriving at a right conclusion. According to the traditions of the Turks, the earliest peopled portions of the earth were Balkh and Surukhs near Khorasan,¹ and according to the Avesta the first country created was Airyana Vaejo² on the river Dāitya. Merv, according to some authority, was the “cradle of the Aryan race.”³ The Mahā-

1 Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii, p. 206; vol. iii, p. 44; see also Marshman's *Brief Survey of History*, p. 10.

2 *SBE.*, vol. iv, pp. 4, 5.

3 *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 407.

bhārata¹ also appears to place the first inhabited portion of the earth in Pātāla or Central Asia, as it says that the egg, from which the great fire is to issue for the destruction of the world, yet remains there unhatched, implying that the other egg which produced the creatures had been hatched there before. It has been conjectured² by some scientists that "Mongolia of to-day and the adjacent territory had in ages past been the centre of disposal of animal life to other parts of the sacrifice of the earth." According to tradition³ the original home of the Semites and other races was in Armenia. Much light therefore will be thrown on this point and other doubtful questions when the Hindu works will be clearly understood by future researches.

NUNDO LAL DEY

1 *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 98.

2 See Mr. R. C. Andrews' account of the Third Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History in Asia (New York), 1923-24.

3 Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, vol. xxi, p. 643, s. v. *Semites*.

Patañjali

as he reveals himself in the Mahābhāṣya

IV

Scientific theories in the Mahābhāṣya

It is often said that early India made little progress in scientific speculations and that no contribution worth mentioning was ever made by Indians to the knowledge of the scientific world. The peculiarity of both mind and habit specially fitted the Indian teachers for making wonderful progress in the domain of religion and philosophy to the utter disregard of the world around them. But it is not wholly correct to say that they were totally indifferent to matters secular. The Indian teachers, though their mind was fully occupied by higher thoughts relating to metaphysics and supreme end of life, and though more in touch with the internal than with the external world, were not altogether unmindful of the workings of nature. The sacred soil of India, which still abounds with hermitages and holy shrines, has its characteristic peculiarities ; the children of the soil were pre-eminently religious in habits and naturally anxious to solve the subtle problems of life. While the western world boasts of her material progress and activities in different spheres of life, the east—the sacred land of seers and sages—takes pride in her religious zeal and spiritual advancement, the like of which is not to be found in the history of human thought. The *sat-vāda* of the Vedas (i. e. the world coming out of something that was really existent), the atomic theory of the *Vaiśeṣikas*, the genesis of the material world from the primordial substance (*Prakṛti*), and the so-called wave-theory of the *Naiyāyikas* may be put forward as unmistakable evidence that the all-absorbing attention of the Indian teachers had also been directed towards the mysteries of the external world.

Patañjali has referred to certain scientific principles

or laws of nature that are more or less based on such facts as are experienced in our daily life. These references are calculated to show the true scientific insight and minute observation on the part of the author.

(1) Patañjali has cited instances from both animate and inanimate world to show how affinity with regard to origin tends to bring things together : ¹ (i) So far as sentient beings are concerned, cows, for instance, while grazing in the field at day time, can easily recognise their own calves and lie down with them ; (ii) "a clod of earth,² when thrown upwards by the force of hands does neither move circuitously nor proceed only upwards, but as a result of natural affinity comes to the earth of which it is a modification ;" (iii) "smoke (or clouds) that takes its origin from the atmospheric water does not move circuitously or pass downwards in the windless sky, but modification of water as it is, it comes to water on account of affinity" ; (iv) "flames that are modified forms of light (i. e. the Sun) or luminous bodies burn highly in the windless sky and do not move circuitously nor descend downwards, but ultimately go to the luminous bodies owing to natural affinity". Kaiyata³ here observes that there is a vast mass of water accumulated in the distant atmosphere and all kinds of water are but modifications of it. He goes further to say that smoke is generated from the watery particles of fuel when they come in contact with fire. As regards the *flames of light*, he holds that they (flames) are modifications of the Sun's rays and consequently they lose their identity finally in the Sun (the ultimate and perennial source of light). The existence of water in the atmosphere is explained by Nāgeśa⁴

¹ Vol. I, p. 123.

² Vol. I, p. 123—लोहः क्षिप्यते बाहुवेगं गत्वा देव तिर्यग् गच्छति नीर्ध्वं भारोद्धति शुचिवीर्यविकारः शुचिवीर्यवागच्छत्यानर्थकः ॥

³ अन्तरिक्षे स्याः समुद्रोऽस्तीति तद्विकारः सर्वा आप इति काशादिस्नानमपानप्रिसंयोगाद् भूमी विकारः ।

⁴ अतएव निराधे निधि निराधरश्च ज्ञानानां श्रेयोपपन्नः ।

with reference to a fact of common experience, viz., "in a summer-night one feels cold while sleeping in open air".

Now, these three instances, which are all intended to prove the invariable tendency of a thing to be associated with its original and cognate elements, are based upon the laws of nature ("Like draws the like").

The ultimate end of science and philosophy is the same; both have attempted to bring out the truth underlying the phenomenal and essential aspects of nature. They complement each other in a striking manner. Thus, what formed the subject of our philosophical discourses in the foregoing pages are now also considered from the scientific point of view.

(2) Patañjali maintains the whole to be composed of parts i. e. the whole is nothing but an aggregate of parts or a harmonious combination of parts.¹ To the Naiyāyikas, on the other hand, the whole (अवयवी) is an entity distinct from the parts (द्रव्यान्तरमूर्तीवैयवी).

(3) Patañjali has expressed his view that "everything possesses consciousness." According to the strict interpretation of this view, there is nothing like inert object, that is to say, things absolutely devoid of consciousness. This is exactly consistent with the highest teaching of the Vedānta, namely, "the whole world is a positive manifestation of Brahman" (सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म). The well-known researches of Sir J. C. Bose in the field of plant-life have thrown some light upon the truth of the above statement.

(4) Patañjali states that "A magnetic stone attracts iron" (अयस्कान्तमयः संक्रामति"—vol. II, p. 16).

(5) Patañjali describes how thirsty deer are often deceived in the sunshine by the sight of false currents of water.² It is usually found in summer that the rays of the Sun coming in contact with the heat of the earth look like the current of water.

¹ अवयवात्मकः समुदायः । अभ्यन्तरो हि समुदाये अवयवः । तद यथा द्रव्यः प्रचलन् सङ्काश्यतेः प्रचलति ।—vol. III, p. 3.

² सगाच्छयिता अपां धाराः पश्यन्ति न च ताः सन्ति ।—vol. II, p. 196.

(6) Patañjali is scientifically accurate in his conception of sound. Consistently with the Naiyāyikas, Patañjali takes sound as a quality of ether (i. e. generated by the ethereal vibrations) and comprehensible by auditory organs¹ (श्रोत्रोपलब्धिः and आकाशदेशः शब्दः). Our auditory organs form a part of the sky, or, in other words, the part of the sky comprised by the orifice of the ear is called "auditory organ" ("कर्णशकुल्यवच्छिन्नं नभ एव श्रोत्रम्"). There is, therefore, some generic relation between the sky and the organs of hearing.

(7) Patañjali² has more than once referred to the movement of the Sun. The Sun has its motion, though it is not perceptible by our naked eyes. There might be some bigger luminous bodies around which the Sun would be moving, just in the same way as the earth moves round it.

(8) Patañjali has shown some amount of physiological knowledge in his discrimination of grammatical genders. He first gives the popular conception of sex,³ according to which beings having long hairs and mummy glands are called females; those with hair on their face and breast are known as males; and beings devoid of these features are regarded as neuter. Again, growth and productivity,⁴ he holds, represent respectively the two essential characteristics of females and males, i.e., that which bears or forms the substratum of embryo is called *Strī*, and the agent of production is called *Pumān*. Kaiyaṭa has made an important observation with regard to neuter gender. He explains⁵ "नपुंसक" by स्थिति or

1 Vol. I, p. 18.

2 "यथादित्यस्य गतिः सती नोपलभ्यते"—vol. II, p. 197 and "आदित्यगतिवन्नीपलभ्यते"—vol. II, p. 124.

3 सनकैश्वरी स्त्री स्वाज्ञीमशः पुरुषः सतः । उभयोरन्तरं यश्च तदभावे नपुंसकम् ॥—
vol. II, p. 196.

4 संस्थानप्रसवी लिङ्गमास्थेयौ—अधिकरणसाधना लोके स्त्री, कर्तृसाधनश्च पुमान्—
vol. II, p. 138.

5 आविर्भावतिरोभावान्तरालावस्था स्थितिरुच्यते सा च नपुंसकत्वेन व्यवस्थाप्यते—
Kaiyaṭa on the Bhāṣya.

retention of force which stands midway between growth and decay. We do not know, if we are allowed to use the scientific expression "Conservation of energy" as an exact synonym of "स्थिति", but it is almost incontestable that neutrality or a state of equilibrium on the part of *Prakṛti* or primordial matter represents the preservation of dormant force.

(9) Patañjali rightly observes that "a thing cannot exist at the same time in two different places." Devadatta, for instance, cannot simultaneously remain at Sruḡhna and Mathurā (न चैकस्मिन्नाधिकरणस्थं युगपत् । न लोको देवदत्तो युगपत् खड्गे भवति मथुरायां च vol. I, p. 244).

(10) Patañjali observes that an amount of iron and cotton, though their body and circumference are equal, appears to have much difference in weight when placed on a measuring instrument. What makes this difference is explained by the author as 'dravya' or substance. This is what is commonly known as the scientific distinction between mass and body (इह समाने वस्तुनि परिमाणे चान्यतुल्यम् भवति लौहस्यान्यत् कार्पासानां यत्कृती विशेषस्तद्व्यम् । vol. II, p. 366).

(11) Patañjali has given some instances which have direct bearing upon the Zoological and Botanical sciences: (i) "scorpions grow from cowdung" ("गोमयादृष्टिको जायते" vol. I, p. 329); (ii) a *godhā* (lizard) does not become a snake by the simple act of crawling or gliding¹ (i.e. though they may be crawling, they belong practically to two different species); (iii) "*dūrvā*-grass grows from the hairs of cows and sheep."² He also observes more minutely that the *dūrvā*-grass grows in a lying posture and the stalk of lotus in a standing posture ("ययाना वदंते दूर्वा" and "आसीनं वदंते विसम्" vol. II, p. 128)

His knowledge about medical science

On the strength of a popular tradition we have already tried to show that Patañjali had to his credit a treatise on the *Āyurveda*. Puṇyarāja expressly states that through the

1 नहि गोधा सर्पलो सर्पणादृष्टिर्भवति—vol. I, p. 82.

2 गोषोमाविषोमन्मो दूर्वा जायते—vol. I, p. 330.

verse of the *Vākyapadīya* (1, 148), Bhartṛhari eulogised the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* as one who purified the body, speech and intellect of men by means of different Śāstras. There is another verse¹ current among the scholars which also corroborates the above by making Patañjali at once the author of the *Yoga-Sūtra*, the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Vātrika* on the *Āyurveda*. The *Pātañjala-carita* also fully endorses the view stated above. The more convincing and reliable evidence is one that comes from Cakrapāṇi,¹ the well-known commentator on the *Caraka*. He also recognises Patañjali as an author of the *Āyurveda*, and not only alludes to the fact of his removing the impurities of mind, body and speech, but salutes him as the "king of serpents". The author of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* has given a detailed account how *Ananta* once came upon the earth in the form of a *spy* (चर) and, being much moved at the sight of the ailments and diseases of people, composed the renowned work *Caraka* with a view to remove the illness of humanity. He got the popular designation *Caraka* from the fact of his first appearance as a spy. The author of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* has thus distinctly identified *Ananta* (Patañjali) with *Caraka*. Now, we see that it is not only the tradition that makes Patañjali a recognised authority on the *Āyurveda*, but Cakrapāṇi and the author of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* have also particularly supported the same view.

The author of the *Bhoja-Vṛtti* also holds the same view, as is clear from his opening verses (जयन्ति वाचः कश्चिद्भुतः and वाक्चेतीवपुषां मयः कणभृतां भर्तुर्व येनोद्धतः).

Beside this consideration, there are a good many instances in the *Mahābhāṣya* that go to prove unmistakably Patañjali's wide knowledge of the *Āyurveda*. A study of the passages given below will be of considerable interest in so far as they show his minute knowledge of the medical science : (1) "curd in

1. योवेन चित्तेश्च पदेन वाचां मल शरीरस्य च वैद्यकिन । योऽपाकरोत्तं प्रवरं सुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राक्षिरानतोऽस्मि ॥—

2. मनोवाक्कायदोषाणां हन्ता ऽह्मिपतये नमः ॥—

contact with lead (or a kind of fruit called *phuti* in Bengali) causes fever positively' (दधिपुषं प्रत्यक्षो ज्वरः vol, III, p. 30); (2) "the use of drain-water is attended with the disease of the feet" ("नङ्गलोदकं पादरोगः vol. III, p. 30); (3) "the use of clarified butter leads to longevity" (आयुर्धनम्).¹ He speaks of *Vāta*, *Pitta* and *Kapha* and mentions also *Vātika*, *Ślaishmika* denoting their irritated condition.² He also gives such names of diseases as *Atisāra*³ (strong diarrhoea), *Sānnipātika*⁴ (Typhoid fever) and *Utkandaka*,⁵ and states particularly that honey and *ghee* destroy respectively cough and bile. The *Mahābhāṣya*⁶ contains a passage where a man is asking another "what is the condition of Devadatta's illness? "It is increasing", he replies; "it is subsiding", says the other. This also shows that Patañjali had the particular knowledge of a physician.

Society—language spoken, environments, customs, material progress, etc.

We now come to see the picture of social life as depicted in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The study of the *Mahābhāṣya* places before us a good many materials wherefrom we can construct a short history of Patañjali's time with particular reference to society and its various aspects. The social life was then not so complicated and undignified as at present; environments and popular usage were rather favourable to the happy growth of social life. People used to live under the protection of kings; caste-distinctions were more strictly observed and the Brahmins occupied a much more respectable position and used to exercise great influence over social matters.

Society mainly consisted of four castes, namely, Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra. The *Mahābhāṣya* distinctly

1 Mahābhāṣya, vol. III, p. 30.

3 " vol. II, p. 351.

5 " vol. III, p. 465.

2 Mahābhāṣya, vol. II, p. 351.

4 " vol. II, p. 358

6 " vol. I, p. 258.

mentions “चातुर्वर्ण्यं”¹ and points out particularly that the division of castes is more or less based on a consideration of qualities.² Noble birth, practice of *tapasyā* and the knowledge of the Vedas are enumerated as characteristic qualifications of a brahmin. Besides these there were other minor castes such as weavers, *Ambasthas*, town-builders, artisans, *Caṇḍālas*, *Niśādas*, *Varuḍas* and so on.³ Under the rule Pāṇ. 5-2-21. Patañjali has spoken of a class of people, generally known as *Prāta*, who had no fixed profession of their own but used to earn their livelihood by physical labour. They were something like day-labourers of our day. Mention is made of the four *Āśramas* (vol. II, p. 370). It is not unlikely that the custom of observing the *Āśramas* continued even at the time of Patañjali.

Sanskrit as a spoken tongue

There is evidence to show that Sanskrit continued to be a spoken tongue even at the time of Patañjali. The question whether Sanskrit had ever been a spoken language has been fully discussed in my “Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus”⁴ and here we propose to deal with the problem on the basis of evidence available in the *Mahābhāṣya* itself. Just in the very beginning of his commentary Patañjali has spoken of two different forms of language, namely, *Vaidika* or *Chandas* and *Laukika* or *Bhāṣā*, the former undoubtedly refers to the ancient literary language of the Vedas, and the latter to the current or spoken language of his time. From the time of Yāska to that of Patañjali the word *Bhāṣā* has been used with particular reference to Sanskrit—which shows that Sanskrit was certainly a spoken tongue with them. Patañjali has also quoted the Vedic injunction “न ह्यस्मिन्नाव

1 *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. II, p. 370.

2 सर्वएते शब्दा गुणसमुदायेषु वर्तन्ते ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यः शूद्र इति—vol. I, p. 411.

3 Vol. II, p. 435.

4 *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus*, pp. 116-121.

भाषितवै” which prevents a Brahmin from using corrupt words as are prevalent among the barbarous people. Though this injunction was rigidly followed only at the time of sacrificial performance, and people were possibly allowed to use incorrect words (some forms of Prākṛta) on other occasions, Patañjali has made the use of correct Sanskrit words almost obligatory on the ground of religious merits.¹ Though both correct forms as Gauḥ, etc. and their corruptions such as Gāvī, Goṇā, Gotā, etc. are equally capable of expressing the intended sense, Patañjali strongly maintains that it is the use of correct words alone that is in fact attended with religious felicity. Again, while commenting on the Vārttika ‘यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु,’ Patañjali states that the people of the Deccan were naturally fond of using words ending in “*taddhita*” terminations ; they, for instance, used “laukike” and “vaidike” instead of ‘loke’ and ‘vede.’ What is stated here does not refer to a dead language. Moreover, in setting forth the motives that are served by the study of grammar, Patañjali has mentioned a verse which emphatically declares that he who does not know how to use *pluta*² (protracted vowel) with regard to a name in responding to a salutation, should be treated as a female. Is it possible that such a practice was observed when Sanskrit had been a dead language ? Patañjali has given us another valuable information, namely, that it was not necessarily the educated Brahmins who had Sanskrit as their spoken tongue, but there was also a class of people known as Śīṣṭa,³ who, with or without an adequate knowledge of grammar, were naturally competent to speak correct Sanskrit. They were, so to speak, the authority on the use of words, and their applications, though some-

1 समानायामर्थवगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन च धर्मनियमः क्रियते—Vol. I, p. 8.

2 अविद्वांसः प्रत्यभिवादे नाम्नो ये न प्रति विद्मः ।

कामं तेषु तु विप्रोष्य स्त्रीष्विवायमहं वदेत् ॥—Vol. I, p. 3.

3 एतस्मिन्नाद्यानिवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भोद्याया अख्योद्युपा अग्रहृत्साणकारणाः किंचिदसरेण कस्यापि विद्यायाः पारगास्तवमवन्तः शिष्टाः ।—Vol. III, p. 174.

times contrary to the rules of grammar, were accepted by the grammarians without a word of objection. Just as we can freely speak our mother tongue without knowing even a syllable of grammar, so were these Śiṣṭas able to speak Sanskrit without having any knowledge of grammar. Even dialectical varieties of Sanskrit as a spoken tongue have been particularly noticed by Patañjali. He observes¹ that the verbal form '*Savati*' meaning 'motion' is used by the Kambojas, the Aryans using the noun-form "*Sava*" denoting a dead body. Similarly, the people of the eastern provinces are said to have used the verbal form '*dāti*,' while the noun-form '*dātra*' was used by the northerners. More convincing evidence is given by Patañjali when he narrates a controversy² (held between a grammarian and a charioteer) in which a charioteer does not only speak Sanskrit but ably discusses a grammatical point with a grammarian. Thus, there are many instances in the Mahābhāṣya which tend to prove that Sanskrit was current as a spoken tongue before the Christian era. It is no wonder that the people, whose religious texts, moral laws, spiritual conceptions, ordinances concerning the 'ten holy sacraments,' poetry, songs, prayers and even stories are all preserved in Sanskrit, might have inherited Sanskrit as their mother tongue. It is a fact that a man can express himself freely only when he happens to speak his own mother tongue ; and the clear way in which Patañjali has expressed himself all throughout his vast work shows not only his command over language but makes it perfectly clear that Sanskrit was undoubtedly a spoken language with him. It must be, however, admitted that as a spoken language Sanskrit was confined to the area of cultured community of the Brahmins. There were different Prākṛta dialects current among the masses ; these were generally called *Apasābdas*,

1 श्वतिर्गतिकस्या कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति विकार एतन्माथा भाषन्ते श्व इति etc.—vol. I, p. 9.

2 एव हि कश्चिद्वैयाकरण आह। कोऽस्य रथस्य प्रवेतिति ? सूत आह। आरयमन्नहं प्राप्नोमिति ।—vol. I, p. 488.

Apabhraṃśas, etc. The Hindu grammarians maintain Sanskrit to be the most original of all tongues,¹ and that all forms of Apabhraṃśas have Sanskrit as their origin. Patañjali has referred to a number of Prākṛta forms,² namely, *āṇapayati* (for Sk. आनापयति), *battati* (for वत्तते), *baddhati* (for बद्धते) and *gāvī, gonā, gotā* (for *gauḥ*), as were generally used by people belonging to the lower strata of society.

So far as social customs and various usages are concerned, we give below the following :—

(1) People used to eat in brass-made utensils (M.B., vol. I, p. 302).

(2) The injury to crop by cows was regarded as an act of religious demerit and the king used to take a severe notice of such action (vol. I, p. 328).

(3) Drinking was not only strictly prohibited but considered as a serious sin. It is one of the five great sins enumerated by Manu. The seriousness of the offence is made clear by Patañjali when he states that a man drinking wine through ignorance is also liable to sin (vol. I, p. 2). He has also referred to a *Smṛti* text which lays down that 'the gods do not carry that brahmin lady to *Patī-loka*¹ (the celestial abode of husbands), who happens to drink wine' (vol. II, p. 99).

(4) People used both *sandal* (made of wood) as well as *shoes* (made of skin) (vol. II, p. 337). Two different kinds of skin, namely, *sanangu* and *upānat*, as were used in making shoes, are also mentioned in this connection.

(5) Every householder used to perform the "five great sacrifices" (as hospitality, oblations to the fore-fathers, etc.) (vol. II, p. 214). The practice of offering libation to the manes (तपय) by means of water is also particularly referred to (vol. I, p. 14).

1 शब्दप्रकृतिरपभ्रंशः—Punyarāja under Vākyapadīya, 149.

2 Vol. I, p. 259.

3 या ब्राह्मणी सुराया भवति नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति ।

(6) People, specially the brahmins, used to observe many religious vows such as “आदित्यव्रत,” “महानामाव्रत” etc. (vol. II, p. 360).

(7) Patañjali has clearly referred to an ancient custom under the rule Pāṇ. 2.1.26, according to which a brahmin student was allowed to sit on a couch (खट्वा) only when he had finished the study of the Vedas, taken the ceremonial bath (after a period of Brahmacharya) and obtained permission from his teachers to be a householder.

(8) Descent was traced either through the father or the mother, and we consequently hear of two kinds of Vamśa, namely, *Mātrvamśa* and *Pitrvamśa* (vol. II, p. 231). There was another kind of *Vamśa* counted on the basis of line of teachers (गुरुपरम्परा).

(9) *Gurus* were held in high respect. Respect was even shown to the descendants of *Gurus*. The injunction ‘गुरुवद्गुरुपुत्रेभ्यः’ was followed with due reverence (गुरुवद्गुरुपुत्र इति—vol. I, p. 133).

(9) The *Mahābhāṣya* mentions the names of many *Gotras*, namely, *Vatsa*, *Kutsa*, *Bharadvāja*, *Agniveśman*, *Vasiṣṭha*, whereby families were distinguished in those days.

(10) People strictly followed the injunctions of the *Dharma-Śāstras*, and the Vedic and *Smārta* rituals were frequently performed. Mention is made of both the “sacrificial country” and of the family of brahmin priests. People were so much scrupulous in religious matters that it was considered to be defective, if anything was performed against the ordinance of the *Dharma-Śāstras* (vol. I, p. 243).

(11) The names were sometimes shortened by dropping the first syllable, e. g., *Devadatta* and *Satyabhāmā* were respectively called *Datta* and *Bhāmā* for the sake of convenience (vol. I, p. 6).

(12) People used to accompany or follow their departing friends up to the end of the forest and stream (vol. I, p. 340). *Kālidāsa* has also referred to this practice in his *Śakuntalā*.

(13) The custom of getting up from one's seat before an elderly man was in vogue (vol. III, p. 58).

(14) Certain customary principles, as are laid down in our Dharma-Śāstras, were followed by people at the time of salutation and its return (vol. III, p. 416). It is also to be particularly noted here that it was only optional to use the word "*bho*" at the time of salutation on the part of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, but the word *Varman* was added to the name of a Kṣatriya.

(15) The custom of inviting people on the occasion of ceremonies was in vogue. The invited guests were sumptuously fed with curd, milk, butter, etc. (vol. I, p. 332.).

(16) Canals were excavated for the purpose of growing paddy crop and the people used to fetch water therefrom for drinking (vol. I, p. 275).

(17) There was a class of brahmins¹ (like वैदिक), who in pursuance to a religious vow did not partake of meals on the occasion of *Śrāddha* ceremony. Patañjali also observes that a स्थण्डिलस्थायी would have his vow broken if he remained away from the sacrificial ground (vol. II, p. 109).

(18) Both fish and meat were used as food by certain classes of people (vol. II, p. 95).

(19) The expression "पशुना रुद्रं यजते" indicates that the custom of animal-sacrifice was prevalent. Patañjali particularly states that the animal was first thrown into the sacrificial fire and then offered to the god *Rudra* (vol. I, p. 331).

(20) Students used to serve their teachers from both religious and secular motives, so that they might have religious felicity in the next life by rendering services to their teachers, and the teachers being satisfied with their service were likely to teach them more carefully (vol. II, p. 36). The sons of the teachers were also respected like the teachers (गुरुवद गुरुपुत्रः) themselves.

(21) As a reward for their good services, servants used to get rice and cloth from their masters (vol. II, p. 36). The artisans used to receive salary for their works.

(22) People used to wear various kinds of ornaments, namely, *āṅgada* (armlet), *kundala* (ear-ring), *kirita*, (an ornament for head something like a crown) (vol. I, p. 259). Patañjali also gives us some information as to how different ornaments were made from lumps of gold; he mentions *rucaka*, (an ornament for the neck), *kaṭaka* (bracelet) and *svastika* (vol. I, p. 7).

(23) There were both theatrical stage and performance, and people used to go there for amusement. Patañjali has used the following words, namely, *Raṅga*, *Ārambhaka*, *Nāṭa*, *Granthika* and *Sobhanika*, which all refer to a theatrical performance. The dramatic performance seems to have been current in India from ancient times. Pāṇini has mentioned the names of two authors on dramatic literature, namely, *Silāli*, and *Krśāsva* (Pāṇ. 4. 3. 110-111). Patañjali has clearly shown how the incidents of *Kaṁsa-badhā* and *Bali-bandha* formed the subject of theatrical representations; and he particularly states how the actors representing the sides of *Kaṁsa* and *Krṣṇa* besmeared their faces with black and reddish tinge respectively (vol. II, p. 36). The various dramatic compositions of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti bear also sufficient testimony to the fact that dramatic performances with scenic representation were actually held in India. Bhavabhūti clearly refers to the festival of *Kālapriyanātha* on which occasion dramatic performances used to take place.

(24) There were both male and female ascetics who used to wander from place to place without having any permanent residence of their own. Patañjali mentions the name of a wandering female monk, namely *Śaṅkarā*. Besides *Śramaṇa* and *Bhikṣu* (Pāṇ. 2. 1. 30), Pāṇini has mentioned a class of monks, known as *Maskara*, who used to hold a stick of bamboo in their hands. Under the rule Pāṇ. 6. 1. 154, Patañjali has given the salient characteristics of this class of wandering monks. They were probably so called because they advocated a principle of utter non-activity, that is, they urged people not to undertake any work in the following

way :—"Don't do any work ; don't do any work, you will have peace and welfare" (vol. III, p. 97). It should be, however, remembered here that this sort of absolute abstinence from work was possibly preached by a class of Buddhist monks.

(25) Patañjali refers to the cultivation of ground by means of plough and mentions some crops that grow in cultivated field. The husbandman was called either *Hālīka* or *Kṛṣaka* (Pāṇ. 3. 2. 183). Patañjali mentions such agricultural products as व्रीहि, धन्वं, माष, तिल and सुद्ध, and takes notice of the fact that these short trees get dried as soon as their fruits are ripe (vol. II, p. 327).

(26) Patañjali has given many sub-divisions of the Sūdra class as *Ambaṣṭha*, *Sūta*, *Māgadha*, *Kūmbhakāra*, *Nāpita* and such outcastes as carpenter, washerman, goldsmith, caṇḍāla, ayaskāra, undertaker, etc. He refers to the practice, prevalent among the low class Sūdras, of drinking wine along with onion (vol. II, p. 419).

(27) Certain countries were rich in cattle. People kept cows as a sort of wealth and used to have sufficient quantity of milk and butter. Patañjali particularly notices that cows, black in complexion, usually give greater amount of milk (गोषु कृष्णा सस्यद्रवीरा).

(28) Under the rule Pāṇ. 2.4.10, Patañjali has spoken of two classes of Sūdras, namely, those who lived inside and outside *Āryāvarta* (the land of the Aryans). He has defined *Āryāvarta* as that portion of India which is surrounded on four sides by the four mountains, namely, *Ādarśa* in the east, *Kālakavana* in the west, *Himālaya* in the south and *Pāriyātra* in the north. The *Sakas* and *Yavanas* used to live beyond the boundary of *Āryāvarta*. Patañjali has particularly enumerated the places where the Aryans used to live—these are villages, *ghoṣa* (inhabited mainly by cows, sheep and buffaloes), towns, and *saṃvāha* (chiefly inhabited by merchants). Patañjali finally describes out-castes (निरवसित) as follows :—People, whose utensils after their eating are not capable of being purified even by the touch of fire

(as laid down in our Dharma-śāstras), are to be known as out-castes (vol. I, p. 475).

(29) A village consisted of many houses, but in some cases a village contained only one house. A village had its boundary lines and contained forests and sacrificial ground (vol. I, p. 77). Patañjali has clearly shown the difference between *Nivāsa* and *Abhijana*, the former meaning the place inhabited by one's predecessors (vol. II, p. 314). Every village was under the leadership of a headman known as "ग्रामनायक."

(30) Patañjali has made mention of many towns and cities. In the *Mahābhāṣya* we find the names of almost all important towns of India. Pāṭaliputra has been often spoken of as an important city surrounded by walls on all sides and lying on the bank of the Śona river. The frequent references to Pāṭaliputra and Kāśmīra lead us to believe that Patañjali might have the occasion of visiting these two important and flourishing cities.

(31) There were merchants who used to carry on various trades. The place where they generally lived was called *Samvāha*. The *Mahābhāṣya* gives the names of mercantile goods as cotton (vol. II, p. 337), wool (out of which blankets¹ were made), cloths, etc. Benares and Pāṭaliputra were two important cities of trade, the former was called *Jitvarī*² by the merchants (vol. II, p. 313). There were weavers who produced cloths of various kinds. In some cases people supplied them with threads and ordered them to prepare *Śaṭaka*³ (a kind of cloth) out of them (vol. I, p. 394). There were shops where scents were sold (vol. II, p. 443).

(32) Patañjali has mentioned the names of measuring vessels such as *Droṇa*, *Khārī*, *Ādhaka* etc. and different varieties of coins such as *Niṣka*, *Kākinī* etc.

1 कम्बलीया ऊर्णाः—Vol. II, p. 338 ; "पण्यकम्बलः"—Vol. III, p. 126.

2 बाणिकी वाराणसी जिले सीत्यपाचरन्ति—Vol. II, p. 313.

3 अथ सूत्रस्य शाटकं वयेति—Vol. I, p. 394.

(33) Patañjali has not only mentioned the names of kings such as *Candragupta*, *Puṣyamitra*, *Madrarāja*, *Kāśmīrarāja* but seems to have intimate knowledge of state affairs. Mention is also made of princes, royal court, officers, king's order, etc. Patañjali has tried to show how officers appeared to be submissive in the presence of the king and pretended to be independent elsewhere (vol. I, p. 326). He has also shown the nature of a king's order for the collection of men ('bring men from villages vol. III, p. 7). Mention is again made of *Chatradhāra* (umbrella-holder) and *Dvārapāla* (gate-keeper) who are associated with the king's person and royal palace respectively (vol. II, p. 94).

(34) Various accounts of warfare are given in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Patañjali's intimate knowledge about the details of warfare is an indication that he had the occasion of witnessing some actual struggles. He gives the names of various weapons, as were generally used in warfare, such as *Śakti*, *Aṅkuṣa*, *Tomara*, sword and arrows (vol. II, p. 99), and mentions elephant, horse, chariot, foot-soldiers, and those that fought on chariot (vol. I, p. 181). That chariots and carriages were much used by people specially at the time of war is clear from many passages of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Patañjali has cited an instance to show how boats and carriages mutually help each other. It was most probably in war-time that carriages had to carry boats on land, and boats had to carry carriages while crossing a river (vol. I, p. 40). Patañjali has also used the word *Senānī* which means a *General* and speaks of *Mālavi Senā* i. e. soldiers recruited from the country of Malowa (vol. II, p. 281). The versified line "सङ्कीर्णालवचः श्रुत्वा जघ्नुः पुण्यनाथवाः" (vol. III, p. 288) is probably an allusion how the soldiers of *Puṣyamitra* exclaimed aloud on hearing the words of the king. The words *Senā*, *Senānī* and *Senānī-kula* (residence of soldiers) occur many times in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

(35) In obedience to customary practice people sometimes cut their hairs on the head (केशान् वयसि), sometimes wore twisted

hairs and sometimes kept a long tuft of hairs (शिखा) on their head (vol. I, p. 17).

(36) Brothers sometimes used to be divided in respect of their wealth (vol. II, p. 179).

(37) Teachers sometimes used to beat their students, if they failed to follow the lesson correctly (vol. I, p. 41).

(38) Though there was prohibition with regard to the sale of meat and oil, cows and mustard-seeds were sold (vol. I, p. 25). Mention is made of three kinds of oil, namely, *Tila-taila*, mustard-oil and *Ingudi-oil* (vol. II, p. 376).

(39) There were various routes through which people used to pass. Patañjali has the following : (1) *Vāripathika*—one who used to go through water-route ; (2) *Jāṅgalapathika*—one proceeding on a path leading through the jungle ; (3) *Sthalapathika*—one going through land-route ; (4) *Kāntārapathika*—proceeding on a forest-path (vol. II, p. 359).

(40) There were thieves as well as dacoits. Patañjali minutely observes that thieves used to paint their eyes with collyrium, and dacoits used to murder the travellers (vol. II, p. 419).

(41) A man in distress due to either bereavement or mental shock sometimes used to take poison as a sort of remedy (vol. I, p. 333).

(42) There were musicians, and various sorts of musical instruments were used by people, such as *Mrdāṅga*, *Pithara*, *Vīṇā*, *Dundubhi*, etc. (vol. II, p. 332). Mention is also made of dancing girls (vol. III, p. 153).

(43) To take curd was considered, as in these days also, to be an auspicious augury of success (vol. III, p. 261 दधिभोजनमर्थसिद्धिरादिः).

(44) Patañjali says that the utmost length of life of even a long-lived man could not exceed one hundred years (vol. I, p. 5).

(45) Wells were excavated for the purpose of getting pure water (vol. I, p. 2).

Minute Observations

The study of the Mahābhāṣya presents before us such materials as indicate the extent of minute observations on the part of Patañjali : (1) He did not fail to observe that the feet of fowls were yellowish and the ears of an ass were of reddish colour (vol. II, p. 271). (2) Again, he does not only speak of the sky as blue but expresses his wonder how the stars evade the possibility of falling down, though hanging in the firmament without any support (vol. III, p. 96). (3). When milk gets mixed up with water, he observes, it becomes extremely impossible to specify the exact amount of either milk or water and say anything definitely as to wherein lies milk and **wherein** lies water (vol. III, p. 15). (4) How closely he studied the incidents of homely life is clearly brought out by the **following** observation. Husbands, he says, though not actually in an angry mood, often pretend to be angry and falsely abuse **their** wives or at least make such gestures and physical signs as are common to angry men (vol. III, p. 367). (5) That which separates or intervenes between two things must necessarily be a distinct entity from both of them (vol. I, p. 59). (6) Patañjali says that it is only natural that out of a good many students pursuing their studies with equal attention very few are found to be successful in their attempt, while the rest are disappointed (vol. I, p. 95). This reminds us of a well-known verse of the *Uttara-Rāmacarita*. (7) A piece of white cloth assumes reddish colour when placed between two cloths tinged or smeared with red colour (vol. I, p. 106). (8) The same thing cannot be found in different places at the same time (viz., a man cannot remain in two different places at a time vol. I, p. 244). **This** seems to have been a very favourite illustration with Patañjali. (9) Patañjali has referred to a superstitious belief with regard to the evil influence as is exercised by certain celestial phenomena. He quotes a verse to show how the different colours of lightning indicate storm, sunshine, growth of crops and famine (vol. I, p. 449).

Proverbial maxims and didactic sayings

The Mahābhāṣya contains many didactic sayings as were possibly current at that time. We give below a few instances : (1) One should obey his mother and serve his father (vol. I, p. 62). (2) The virtuous man is always bent on performing virtuous deeds (धर्मं चरति धर्मिकः). (3) There is no satiety of desire (vol. III, p. 78) (4) Everyone works for his own interest (vol. II, p. 36). (5) A man desirous of eating molasses is not at all satisfied with taking a clod of earth (vol. I, p. 333). It is a very interesting proverbial maxim. (6) Only gods are capable of knowing this (देवा ज्ञातुमर्हन्ति). (7) Though there is an apprehension of injury from deer, the peasants do not refrain from growing barley-corn and people do not cease cooking rice anticipating the presence of beggars (vol. I, p. 100).

His geographical knowledge

The Mahābhāṣya contains many geographical data. Patañjali has mentioned almost all the important places of India. In accordance with the popular Hindu conception as is described in the Mahābhārata and other Purāṇas he first speaks of the earth as consisting of seven great islands सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती. These are, as enumerated in the Mahābhārata, Śaka, Krauñca, Sveta, Jambu, Plakṣa, Sālmali, Puṣkara. He has also given a clear description of the Āryāvarta mentioning the names of four mountains, namely, Ādarśa, Kālakavana, Himālaya, and Pāriyātra that surround it on all sides (vol. III, p. 174). This definition is the same as given in the Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra (1, 1, 25) ; and it is not unlikely that Patañjali might have taken his definition verbatim from the above. According to the other view, the Āryāvarta lies between the Ganges and the Jumna (B. Dharma-Sūtra 1, 1, 26). The description of this land, as given in the Manu Saṃhitā, is different. Patañjali has also mentioned the characteristics of the people (Śiṣṭas) who used to live in this sacred land ; here also his description almost exactly coincides with that of

the Bodhāyana Dharma Sūtra (1,1,5) both in essence and language. Mention has also been made of "sacrificial country" (यज्ञियो देवः—vol. II, p. 357). The country, says Manu, where *Kṛṣṇasāra* (a species of deer) naturally roams about is called "sacrificial land" (Manu, 2, 23). Patañjali (vol. I, p. 209.) has quoted the part of a Vedic verse which contains the names of four important rivers, namely, the Ganges, Jumnā, the Sarasvatī and the Sutlej (R̥gveda, X, 75). Again, he mentions the Ganges and the Jumna, and observes particularly how good many rivers have lost their respective identity as well as their names by entering into these two rivers (vol. I, p. 316). He also states the source of the Ganges in the example—"The Ganges flows from the Himālaya" (vol. I, p. 329) and mentions the names of some other rivers as Carmanvatī, Śarāvātī, Śiprā, etc. (1) Patañjali has used both the words *Pāñcanada* (relating to the land of five rivers) and *Pañcanada* (Punjab) and disjoins the compound as indicating an aggregate of five rivers (vol. II, p. 239). It is the land of five rivers where the Indo-Aryans are supposed to have colonised for the first time. The word *Vāhika* occurs in the Mahābhāṣya which either meant a country (modern Bactria) or a tribe living in the Punjab. Nāgeśa takes the word as the name of a country and has quoted a verse from the Mahābhārata showing the geographical position of the country. Under the rule Pāṇ. 1. 1. 75, Patañjali has *Sapura* and *Skonagara* which are explained by Kaiyaṭa as the names of two villages in *Vāhika*. Patañjali has mentioned the names of various other villages of *Vāhika*, namely, *Arat*, *Kaṣṭira*, *Daśarūpya*, *Sakala*, *Śansuka*, *Patana-prastha*, *Kaṅkudivaha*, *Manuji*, *Nandipura*, etc. (vol. II, p. 296-99). It is clear from these numerous references to the villages of *Vāhika* that Patañjali had lived in that part of India for a long time. He gives the names of villages in the northern country as *Sivapura* (vol. II, p. 293) and *Nilinaka*. The rule Pāṇ. 4. 2. 117. distinctly refers to the villages of *Vāhika*. In the aphorisms of Pāṇini mention is made of

many countries and counties, such as *Sindhu*, *Kaccha*, *Madra*, *Kuru*, *Yugandhara*, *Vr̥ji*, *Uśīnara*, *Sauvīra*, *Śālva*, *Suvasta*, *Kamboja*, *Avanti*, *Gandhāra*, *Kośala*, *Kunta*, *Pratyagratha*, *Kālakūṭa*, *Āsmaka*, *Magadha*, *Kaliṅga*, *Suramas*, *Kekaya*, *Ikṣvāku*, *Mitrayu*, *Pāraskara*, *Takṣaśīla*, *Tudi*, *Śālātura*, *Varmatī*, *Kucacara* (the last four are names of villages) and *Kata* (name of a town), *Kapīśi*, *Kāśi*, *Dākṣiṇātya*, *Pañcāla*, etc. This long list of countries show how wide was the geographical knowledge of Pāṇini. Patañjali also has mentioned the names of many ancient countries, namely, *Trigarita* ("a most arid country in ancient times") identified with modern *kangra Vatsa* (the well-known country—the kingdom of *Udayana*—with *Kauśāmbī* as its capital), *Āṅga* (an important country ruled by *Karṇa*—see *Mbh.*), *Vaṅga* (Bengal), *Suhma* (a country lying south-west of modern Bengal), *Puṇḍra* (Northern Bengal), *Gandhāra* (Kandahara), *Kāśmīra*, *Madra*, *Magadha* (its capital being *Pāṭaliputra*), *Mathurā*, *Srughna* (a town near *Pāṭaliputra*), *Kauśāmbī* (near Allahabad), *Kamboja* (name of a country near the Hindookusa mountain), *Kaliṅga* (south of Orissa Khandika), *Coḍa* (in Southern India), *Kerala* (modern *Kanara*), *Pañcāla* (well-known country referred to in the *Mahābhārata*), *Kāñci* (in Madras situated on the *Vegavatī* river), *Vidarbha* (modern Berar, an ancient kingdom mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*—its capital *Kuṇḍinapura* is also mentioned by Patañjali), *Videha* (its capital was *Mithilā*), *Māhiṣmatī* (on the *Naromadā*), *Kānyakubja* (modern Kanouj), *Ahicchatra* (Northern portion of *Pañcāla*), *Ujjayinī* (Ujjein), *Daśārṇa* (in Malava), *Sāketa* (Oudh), *Kāśi* (also *Vārāṇasi*), *Kośala*, *Uśīnara* etc. He gives the names of certain countries as *Jihṇava*, *Ikṣākava*, *Brāhmaṇaka* and so on. He frequently mentions the names of *Pāṭaliputra* and *Benares*, as situated respectively on the banks of the *Sona* and the *Ganges*; and also speaks of the palaces and walls of *Pāṭaliputra*. Mention is also made of a road leading to *Sāketa* (Oudh) vol. I, p. 281. He says particularly that the city of *Sāṃkāśya* stands at a distance

of 8 miles from Gavidhūma (vol. I, p. 455), and speaks of a person halting at *Māhiṣmatī* on his way to Ujjein (vol. II, p. 35). He speaks of *Kāśmīra* in such a way as he is supposed to have visited that place (vol. I, p. 109). He does not only give the name of *Pañcāla* but mentions its northern and eastern portions also. It appears from his description that *Mathurā* and *Pātaliputra* were two flourishing cities in those days. That there existed wells on the way to *Pātaliputra* is clear from his statement (vol. II, p. 160). Patañjali speaks of the big lakes of the *Deccan* and of such ancient towns as *Nāsikya* (Nasik in Bombay presidency), *Tisrka* and *Sauvāpana* (vol. III, pp. 307, 319). The name of a certain desert track as *Aṣṭaka* also occurs in the *Mahābhāṣya* (vol. II, p. 298). Patañjali says that wheat is available in *Madra* just as in *Uśinara* (II, 244). He speaks of some dialectical peculiarities of *Kamboja* and *Saurāṣṭra* (modern Kathiwar). He gives the names of two non-Aryan tribes, namely, *Śaka* and *Yavana* and refers to the invasion of *Śāketa* and *Mādhāmika* by the latter. Besides giving the names of numerous villages, he particularly speaks of a country inhabited by peoples other than Brahmins and of a village abounding in many valorous men (vol. I, pp. 301, 403). Apart from the names of four principal mountains surrounding the *Āryāvarta* on four sides, Patañjali mentions the names of two other hills, namely, *Vindhya* and *Khāṇḍava*, and rightly observes that "mountains are full of snow" (vol. II, p. 339).

The Gītā Literature and its relation with Brahma-Vidya

II

(ii) *The position of the Bhagavad-gītā in the Gītā-Literature*

Apart from the general similarities indicated above, there are other evidences to show that the Bhagavad-gītā was taken as the type by the authors of the other Gītās.

1. Some of the minor Gītās have even named their principal chapters after those of the Bhagavad-gītā ; and even the ending of the chapter is remarkably similar. For instance, the Bhagavad-gītā ends its chapters as follows : “iti śrīmad-bhagavad-gītāsūpaniṣatsu brahma-vidyāyām yogaśāstre śrīkṛṣṇārjjunasamvāde &c.i.e. So endeth such and such chapter named such and such ‘yoga’ in the dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the yoga-śāstra in Brahma-vidyā in the Upaniṣad of the Bhagavad-gītā.”

Now, even this form of ending has been imitated by more than one Gītā. Thus the Gaṇeśa-Gītā ends its chapters as : “ iti śrīmad-gaṇeśa-gītāsūpaniṣadarthagarbhāsu &c.”

A similar ending is noticeable in the Śīva-Gītā, Brahma-Gītā, &c. It will be observed that the similarity is not a mere verbal one. Like the Bhagavad-gītā, these other Gītās also seek to identify themselves with the Brahmavidyā in the Upaniṣads ; each chapter is called ‘a chapter in Brahmavidyā in the Upaniṣads’.

The similarity in the name of the chapters does not end here. Besides being a chapter in Brahma-vidyā, each chapter has a specific individual name also, e. g. in the Bhagavad-gītā, the chapters are called ‘Viśāda-yoga’, ‘Sāṅkhya-yoga’, etc. Now, even this nomenclature has been borrowed by some of the other Gītās. Thus, Gaṇeśa-Gītā, ch. ii is called ‘Karmayoga’ after Bhagavad-gītā, ch. iii ; and Śīva-Gītā, ch. xv is called ‘Bhakti-yoga’ like ch. xii of the Bhagavad-gītā. And so on.

2. But the most striking similarity is to be found with regard to chapters x and xi of the Bhagavad-gītā, respectively called ‘Vibhūti-yoga’ and ‘Viśvarūpa-darśana’ : In these chapters, in order to produce the necessary feelings of devotion and veneration for Himself, the Lord first declares that he is the source of all, specially all that is great and glorious in the world ; and then, by a miracle, He gives an ocular demonstration of the fact that the world is in him and that all things fly back to him. The effectiveness of such a demonstration can be

easily imagined ; to see God eye to eye and to see Him as containing the entire universe—the very idea compels feelings of awe and fear. And as we are told in the Gītā, the effect of this manifestation was electric.

Now, these two well-designed chapters, which were eminently successful, it seems, with the popular mind, were profusely imitated by other writers. And the imitation went so far as to involve even *verbatim* quotations from the original, without of course any express or implied acknowledgment. For instance, the most superficial reading will show that ch. viii of the Gaṇeśa-Gītā and ch. vii of the Śiva-Gītā, are but paraphrases of ch. xi of the Bhagavad-gītā. Let us take the Lord's peroration after he had given manifestation of his all-engrossing divinity. We give only a running translation :

"The manifestation of me, that you have seen, is difficult to see. Even the gods always wish to see it but cannot. I cannot be seen as you have seen me, by the help of the Vedas or austerities or gifts or by sacrifices. Unswerving devotion alone, O Arjjuna, enables one to see me as you have seen me, &c."

Now take the corresponding section of the Gaṇeśa-Gītā :

"This '*rūpa*' or manifestation of me cannot be seen by those who are not 'Yogins' ; Śaṅkara, Nārada and others see it through my grace. Those who know (only) the four Vedas or even all the Śāstras, and those who perform sacrifices, austerities and gifts, are not the persons who see me like this ; I can be seen like this only by means of devotion, &c."

Again, take Devī-Gītā, ch. ii ; it is on the face of it, a paraphrase of Bhagavad-gītā, ch. x coupled with ch. xi. The verbal similarities, it is needless to point out, are not detectable in translation ; but the identity of thought-structure cannot escape notice.

3. Besides these, there is one interesting doctrinal similarity which deserves more than a passing notice. Bhagavad-gītā, ch. iv, 7-8 says : "Whenever there is a decay of religion, O Bhārata, and an increase of sinfulness, then I create myself ; for the protection of the righteous and the destruction of the unrighteous, and for the establishment of religion, I am born in age after age."

This is obviously a reference to the doctrine of divine incarnation. It will be remembered that of all the deities in the Hindu pantheon, incarnations are spoken of almost exclusively of Viṣṇu alone. We have little or nothing about the incarnation of other gods. But the imitators of the Bhagavad-gītā wanted to be so thorough that they

even took up this idea in several cases. Thus Devī-Gītā, viii, 22-23 says :

“Yadā yadā hi dharmmasya glānir bhavati bhūdhara,
abhyutthānamadharmmasya tadā veśān vibharmmy aham.”

This and the corresponding passage in the Bhagavad-gītā differ only in three words, of which one is the name of the person addressed ; the other two words practically mean the same thing. Could imitation go further than this ? Or can it be regarded as anything but conscious imitation ? And it is more than mere verbal similarity : it is doctrinal equivalence.

Even in doctrines, other similarities are there. The theory of the ‘vision of equality’ (sama-dṛṣṭi) which pervades the whole of the Bhagavad-gītā, finds its echo in Gaṇeśa-Gītā, i. 41-50. And like the Bhagavad-Gītā again, the Devī-Gītā also speaks of the ‘three paths’ of Jñāna, Karma and Bhakti. Bhagavad-gītā, ch. xvii dissertates upon the trial of ‘guṇas’ and correspondingly, three kinds of Śraddhā, etc. Chapter vi of the Devī-Gītā speaks of the same thing.

Imitation does not stop here. The Bhagavad-gītā has been imitated even in its attitude towards the Vedas. In chapter ii, 42-44, it says :

“Yām imām puṣpitām vācam pravādanty avipaścitaḥ
veda-vāda-ratāḥ Pārtha nānyad astiti-vādinah ;
kāmatmānaḥ svargaparāḥ janma-karma-phala-pradām
kriyāviśeṣabahulām bhogaiśvaryyagatim prati ;
bhogaiśvaryyaprasaktānām tayāpahṛtacetasām
vyavasāyātmikā buddhiḥ samādhau na vidhiyate.”

Compare with this Gaṇeśa-Gītā, i. 33-34 :

“Yām imām puṣpitām vācam praśaṃsanti śrutiritām
trayī-vāda-ratā mūḍhās tato ’nyanmanvate ’pi na ;
kurvanti satataṁ karma janma-mṛtyu-phalapradam
svargaiśvaryyaratā dhvastacetanā bhogabuddhayaḥ.” &c.

The similarity in thought and language is too apparent to need any comment.

One may be permitted now to think that a multiplication of these instances is unnecessary. These striking similarities of thought and language cannot be explained on any other hypothesis save that of borrowing either way. A mere similarity in thought may be due to independent origin ; great minds often think alike. But it is not possible that the very same words even should be used by two writers, unless it be a case of borrowing. That there has been profuse

unacknowledged borrowing in the Gītā literature, is, therefore, an indisputable fact. The only question is : Who borrowed from whom ?

The answer to this question is found in the verdict of time in favour of the Bhagavad-gītā. Time has made it *the* Gītā ; the others are only antiquarian relics—more or less buried in forgetfulness. The Bhagavad-gītā is the 'Smṛti' referred to by Bādarāyaṇa in his Vedānta-sūtra ; it is the Gītā that needs no qualifying its name. It has found dozens of commentators. The position of pre-eminence that it occupies can no longer be challenged. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that it was the prototype of all the other Gītās.

This is further evidenced by the fact that some of the books which contain these minor Gītās, expressly refer to the Bhagavad-gītā, attempt a summary of its teachings and even prefix it in some cases to their own Gītās. Thus the Agni-purāṇa, ch. 382 contains a 'Yama-Gītā' but ch. 381 gives the substance of the Bhagavad-gītā and calls it the 'very best of all the Gītās' ('sarvagītottamottamām'). Garuḍa-purāṇa, i, 242 similarly summarises the Bhagavad-gītā, but appears to have no independent Gītā of its own. Yoga-vāsiṣṭha, vi, 1, 53 *et seq.* contains a summary of the Bhagavad-gītā ; but its own important Gītā called the Brahma-Gītā comes after it in vi, 2, 172. This means that enough respect was shown to the Bhagavad-gītā by the authors of the other Gītās.

Such instances of imitation and plagiarism are not unknown to history. There is an interesting example of it in the profane section of Sanskrit literature. Every one knows the high eminence that Kālidāsa's famous lyric Meghadūta enjoys ; and it is also an admitted fact that the writers of Hamsa-dūta, Padāṅka-dūta, &c. were but copyists and plagiarists.

The Bhagavad-gītā has been imitated and we have an extensive Gītā literature. But one may be permitted to ask ; Are all the other Gītās imitations ? Are none of them genuine and original ? It would be rash to give a categorical answer to this question. The minor Gītās of the Mahābhārata are not, strictly speaking, imitations of the Bhagavad-gītā. They are too short for that. They only attempt answers to one or two short questions, and do not pretend to set up anything like a complete moral or spiritual ideal. We have given examples of them before ; we might take up one or two more here to indicate their general nature. The Vicakṣṇu-Gītā (Mbh., xii, 264) is a brief diatribe against the use of meat and wine ; Vṛtra-Gītā (xii, 278) is a dissertation

on Karma, migration of the soul and kindred topics. And Bodhya-Gītā is a little chapter of 26 lines, and indicates by means of a parable how the bondage of the world may be escaped and renunciation practised.

Even outside the Mahābhārata, there are one or two Gītās which say too little to be an imitation of the Bhagavad-gītā. Thus the Yama-Gītā of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa is a short treatise on Viṣṇu-bhakti or devotion to Viṣṇu.

These Gītās have not the ambition to attempt an imitation of the Bhagavad-gītā. To that extent, they may be considered as of independent growth. But their independence was never of sufficient magnitude to deserve special recognition. And unlike the Bhagavad-gītā and a few others which were more or less successful in imitating it, they lie entombed within the parent soil of the bigger compositions to which they belong.

Now, to whatever class a Gītā may belong and whatever may have been its relation with the Bhagavad-gītā, none of these Gītās seem to have escaped the general influence of the Upaniṣadic cult. Even the smallest and also the most sectarian among them breathes in the atmosphere of Brahma-vidyā ; it, too, talks of a moral or spiritual ideal of salvation or 'mokṣa' : of some kind of worship, or some spiritual, mental, or even physical discipline, as means for the attainment of this *mokṣa* and so forth. This is not all : most of them refer to, and a large number of them quote freely from, the Upaniṣads. We are thus led on to consider our third question, viz., the relation of the Gītās with the Upaniṣads.

(iii) *The relation between the Gītās and the Upaniṣads*

1. We have seen before that the general tendencies of Brahma-vidyā influenced the Gītā-literature as a whole. This is manifest from the fact that most of the Gītās *quote* from the Upaniṣads ; sometimes the quotations are direct and *verbatim*, sometimes they are paraphrases of localisable passages of the Upaniṣadic texts ; and generally speaking, the borrowing is frankly admitted.

That the Bhagavad-gītā has quoted and borrowed from the Upaniṣads is a well-known fact. Its similarity with the teachings of the Upaniṣads also has been recognised ; and the Vedānta-sūtra in several cases refers to it just as it refers to passages in the Upaniṣads. The second chapter of the Bhagavad-gītā is particularly noteworthy for its quotations and paraphrases of passages of the Kāṭha Upaniṣad.

Other examples of borrowing are : Devī-Gītā, ch. iii. 18, gives the general advice that one should listen carefully to the teachings of Vedānta and always meditate upon the meaning of the saying 'tat tvam asi' (That thou art). And ślokaś 32-34 and 35-36 quote *verbatim* Kaṭha, i, 2, 18-20 and i, 3, 3-4. And ch. v of this Gītā quotes the whole of Muṇḍaka ii, 2.

Śiva-Gītā ii, 21 is a *verbatim* quotation of Kaṭha, i, 2, 19 ; and ii, 34 is a *verbatim* quotation of ii, 5, 7 of the same Upaniṣad. Besides this, paraphrases of Upaniṣadic texts and borrowing of thought-forms are quite plentiful.

The Rāma-Gītā refers to Śruti in general and to Taittirīya in particular (21). It also quotes the formula 'That thou art' (24).

The verbal similarity between the Brahma-Gītā of the Yoga-vāsiṣṭha and the Upaniṣads is somewhat less obtrusive. But here there is a much deeper resemblance in thought and meaning. It is frankly a dissertation on Brahmayidyā and has no sectarian deity to uphold ; and, as an interpretation and amplification of the Upaniṣadic teachings, it had less need of quoting passages *verbatim*. But even it has not altogether escaped touches of Upaniṣadic expressions here and there. For instance, iii, 24 is a partial quotation of Taittirīya ii, 4, 1.

The Brahma-Gītā that professes to belong to the Skanda-purāṇa, uses the Upaniṣads more profusely than any other. It refers to other systems of belief and worship, but declares categorically that all else is opposed to Śruti and Smṛti, and hence, by implication, is false, except of course what it itself is propounding (ii, 5-9). It says :

"There are those who worship Hara, those again who worship Viṣṇu, and still others who worship me (i.e. Brahmā, who is the speaker here). And there are others also who follow other gods, such as Indra, etc. Some take Prakṛti with its threefold attribute, self-existent but unconscious. Some deluded people believe in atoms and some only in Logos or *Śabda* ; some pin their faith on consciousness that does not endure beyond the moment, and some, equally deluded, believe in an undefinable Void or *Śūnya* ; and some believe in the elements and some in Nature or *Nisarga*—all equally deceived. All kinds of arguments they advance by force, but they are all false. All these are opposed to the true meaning of Śruti and Smṛti ;—this is my decided opinion."

The references here are obviously to Sāṅkhya, Bauddha, Jaina and other systems. All these are, however, declared to be wrong paths,

the true path being that of the Vedas. The mistaken paths also serve a useful purpose ; they help us, by contrast, to arrive at the true meaning of the Vedas (ii, 29). They are errors which enhance the value of truth and the truth is to be found in the Vedas alone. But what do the Vedas really teach ?

The answer is to be found in the book as a whole. Briefly, it is the worship of Śiva—who, be it noted, is the same as Brahma of the Upaniṣads. He is what the Vedas establish ('Vedasiddha'—ii, 37). He is the one ultimate reality of which the Upaniṣads speak. He saw (aikṣata) and created the universe (cf. Ch. Up. vi. 2. 3, &c.). And he is conceived as possessing all the attributes that are assigned to Brahma in the Upaniṣads.

The influence of the Upaniṣads on this book is perhaps more thorough than anywhere else. It not only adopts the general principles of Brahma-theory, but exploits the texts also more extensively than any of the other Gītās. For instance, ch. iv. 92-114, of this book paraphrases the incident of Kena, iii-iv. Brahma, we are told in the Kena, appeared before the gods, but they knew him not. One after another was sent to him to ascertain who he was. The messenger, who was himself a god, in each case declared his own identity and his prowess ; Brahma however concealed his identity and wanted evidence as to the boasted prowess of the god before him. The god was benumbed and could not prove his strength. When all the gods were completely subdued in this way, a celestial form of beauty appeared in the sky and declared the greatness of Brahma. Now the gods knew him and worshipped him.

The Brahma-Gītā uses this story for the purpose of showing the superiority of Śiva to all other deities. It finds some interesting support in the fact that the Kena gives the names 'Haimavati' and 'Umā' to the celestial form that discloses the identity of Brahma. According to later mythology, Haimavati and Umā are names of the consort of Śiva.

The fourth chapter of this Gītā professes to be an interpretation of the Kena Upaniṣad as a whole, as its name 'Talavakāropaniṣad-vyākhyā-kathanam' implies. Chapter v in the same way contains an interpretation of Chāndogya, vi.

The 6th chapter is an explanation of the celebrated Upaniṣadic practice of meditating upon Brahma in the cavity of the heart, technically called 'Daharopāsanā' or 'worship of the little (sky).' The reference is to Chāndogya viii. 1, 1, which is expounded in Vedānta-sūtra i. 3. 14-21.

The 7th chapter (3-11) quotes with slight alterations the whole of Muṇḍaka i. 1 ; and Muṇḍaka i. 2 is paraphrased and quoted in some verses following these. Then follow quotations and paraphrases of Muṇḍaka ii ; and so forth.

Chapter viii, of the same Gītā has been called an 'account of the Kaivalya Upaniṣad,' and, as the name implies, it is full of quotations from that Upaniṣad. Chapters ix and x are devoted to the Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, with special reference to the Maitreyī Brāhmaṇa of that book ; and ch. xi quotes extensively from Kaṭha and Śvetāśvātara.

We have given examples enough of the extensive use of Upaniṣadic texts by the Gītās. The smaller Gītās of the Mahābhārata are too small to quote extensively, but even they borrow forms and principles of thought. Thus the Bodhya-Gītā which consists of only 26 lines, attributes an oft-quoted saying to a king of Videha, viz., "Mithilāyām pradīptāyām na me dahyati kiñcana—When Mithilā is burnt, nothing of me is burnt." It is easy to see that this is only a development of the line of thought started in the famous saying of Yājñavalkya, viz., "Amṛtatvasya tu nāśo'sti vittena" (Br. ii. 4. 2.). Moreover, the Gītās of the Mahābhārata develop moral precepts and theories of Jñāna and Karma, which are closely akin to those of the Upaniṣads.

It is evident, therefore, that the Gītā literature was extensively influenced by Brahma-vidyā of the Upaniṣads. Wherever this cult of Brahma-vidyā may have arisen and by whomsoever it may have spread, it shed its shining light on other systems of thought and worship, and, sometimes even on systems that were not quite friendly to it. It had discovered forms of thought and belief, the value of which could not be ignored ; and it had gained such a position for itself that no system of thought and belief could altogether escape its influence. Just as in modern times, one who is not a Christian has yet to use some of the Christian concepts and expressions of the Bible—just as one who is not necessarily a scientist, cannot altogether be ignorant today of the latest scientific conceptions, they permeate our life and thought so widely,—in the same way, in those ancient times in India, Brahma-vidyā had so infused the life and thought of the land that even hostile systems of culture could not altogether escape its influence. Perhaps the actual followers of Brahma-vidyā were never very numerous ; perhaps as a system of philosophy, Sāṅkhya claimed more adherents and was more extensively influential. Sāṅkhya influenced the positive sciences, specially the science of medicine,

more intensively than any other system of philosophy in India. But Brahma-vidyā also was not without its following. The sublimest thing in it was the concept of Brahma; and like Platonic ideas in ancient and Kantian ideas in modern European thought, the idea of Brahma and other kindred ideas shed their lustre on almost all the subsequent systems of thought. Some followed them up to their logical conclusions; others perhaps employed them only for their own purposes. The same phenomenon is illustrated in the entire range of Gītā literature.

2. Thus we have a series of Gītās which *exploit* the conceptions of the Upaniṣads for their sectarian purposes. The unity of the God-head reached in Brahma, was very widely used by sectarian writers. Each sect having a special deity of its own, tried to show, after the fashion of the Upaniṣads,—as we have pointed out before—that all creation, all gods, all elements, were but manifestations of that particular Deity. With the followers of Gaṇeśa, the Supreme Deity is of course Gaṇeśa; with those of Śiva, he is Śiva; and so forth. In the Upaniṣads, the minor gods are merged in Brahma; in the sectarian Gītās, it is the particular deity of the sect that swallows them up. This is one way in which Brahma-vidyā was exploited by sectarian cults.

Besides, even meditative discipline and physical training in postures auxiliary to such meditation, technically called 'yoga', were indicated by the Gītās, after the fashion of the Upaniṣads again. There was not necessarily an agreement in detail; but the general principle underlying these practices was the same. Thus Śvetāśvatara (ii. 10-11) suggests certain conditions of meditation: the sort of place in which meditation should be practised; the sort of objects on which attention should be fastened; and so on. The same topic is discussed pretty fully in Vedānta-sūtra iv. 1. 7-12. and also elsewhere. The Gītās also take up the idea. The Bhagavadgītā, for instance, lays down certain practical rules for the guidance of meditation in vi. 11-14 :—

"One should place one's seat in a clean spot; and the seat should be steady, neither too high nor too low, and should consist of cloth placed upon hide (of deer or tiger), which again should be spread upon *kuśa* grass. There one should sit, with the mind fixed and the senses controlled; and having so seated oneself, one should practise *yoga* for self-purification. With the head, the middle of body and the neck in one line, and straight, with motionless steadiness fixing the gaze on

the tip of the nose, and without seeing anything else, with quiet of mind and freedom from fear, and practising all the austerities of a Brahmacārin, firm and fully self-possessed, and with heart set upon me (the Lord), one should remain joined with me (the Lord) and having me (the Lord) as the ultimate goal."

In commenting on Vedānta-sūtra iv 1. 10., Śaṅkara quotes these lines approvingly. This meditation or 'Yoga' was a means suggested by the Upaniṣads for the attainment of Brahma. The Gītās exploited these ideas for their own particular cults also. The Bhagavadgītā is not the only example. Gaṇeśa-Gītā iv. 26-34, Devī-Gītā ch. iv. &c. are other examples. It will be seen, therefore, that the Upaniṣadic ideas were not only *used* but even *exploited*. Of course, since all the Gītās were not sectarian, the charge of exploitation cannot be brought against all; but none appear to be altogether free from the general influence of the Upaniṣads.

3. There are some Gītās which are decidedly Upaniṣadic; i.e. they try to popularise and give a wider currency to the Upaniṣadic ideas. A more thorough-going practice of Brahma-vidyā is developed, going down even to the regulation of diet as a means for the attainment of Brahma (cf. Bhagavad-gītā, xvii. 7-10). Of all the Gītās, the Bhagavad-gītā did the most to spread and popularise Upaniṣadic ideas; but it was not alone in the field. The Brahma-Gītā of the Yoga-vaśiṣṭha comes next; and the smaller Gītās of the Mahābhārata also had their share in this work.

These facts discover to us one of the avenues through which the ideas of the Upaniṣads tended to percolate to the masses of the country. It is evident that the Upaniṣadic culture was sufficiently philosophic to arrest attention. Its existence could not be ignored. But was it sufficiently diffused to become a popular *religion*? The subsequent history of the country gives a decidedly negative answer to this question. The philosophy of the Upaniṣadic culture was all right; it has survived till the present day. But its religion, it seems, could never become popular. The way in which the sectarian Gītās employ its philosophical concepts and spiritual practices, shows that these were well-known and perhaps even popular. But the continuance and recrudescence of the sect-deities shows that the religion of Brahma-vidyā was too abstract for the popular mind; which still had the need for gods and goddesses.

To conclude: We have an extensive Gītā literature embedded in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata and in some cases also having an

independent existence, without forming part of any known book. Almost without exception, these Gītas bear mark of Upaniṣadic influence. So far as composition and literary structure goes, they were mainly modelled upon the Bhagavad-gīta. Some of these Gītas were designed to popularise the Upaniṣadic cult ; while others exploited the concepts of the Upaniṣads for furthering the worship of a sect-deity.

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

Indian Literature Abroad

VI

Hiuen Tsang will be remembered by future generations for another work, the importance of which need not be pointed out to the students of philosophy. The importance of *Abhidharma-kośa*¹ was fully recognised by Burnouf, Kern and all other scholars. This work has come down to us in

Vasubandhu's
Abhidharma-
kośa translated.

Chinese in two forms, one containing verses (602 kārīkās) only, and the other being prose explanations of the verses. Paramārtha, the first translator of the *Kośa*, tells us that the prose text was compiled at the request of the 'Kāśmīra-Vaibhāṣikas.' Of course the verse-text is included in the prose explanation. Vasubandhu is the author of the kārīkās as well as the explanations. Hiuen Tsang translated the kārīkās in 2 fasciculi and the explanation in 309 fasciculi. In this book Vasubandhu deals with the views of the Vaibhāṣikas. There exists a Sanskrit commentary on this Śāstra, called *Abhidharma kośa Vyākhyā* or simply *Sphuṭārthā*. Its author is Yaśomitra, who also mentions two earlier commentaries by Guṇamitra and Vasumitra.

Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra and *Samaya-pradīpikā* of Saṅghadeva, who compiled the two Śāstras in Ayodhyā, were rendered into Chinese

1 For the French translation of this book see La Vallée Poussin—L' *Abhidharma-kośa* de Vasubandhu, 5 vols. Société Belge d' Etudes Orientale, Louvain, 1923-25. The Sanskrit text has been published in the Bibliotheca Buddhica by Stcherbatsky and Lévi. See Nariman, pp. 97, 279-286 (Nanjio, 1265).

by Hiuen Tsang. *Samaya-praṭīpikā* contained 10,000 ślokaś and merely explained the doctrine of Vibhāṣā. The translation has been made from a shorter work with similar explanation of the Vibhāṣā tenets. *Nyāyānusāra* had probably another title, 'Kośakarakū' i. e. Kośa-hail-stone, but the name was changed by the great Vasubandhu into *Nyāyānusāra* after Saṅghadeva's death out of respect to his opponent. This book contained 120,000 ślokaś, and is directed against *Abhidharma-kośa* of Vasubandhu. This is too elaborate and abstruse a book for general students, having 80 fasciculi, 1,751 pages and that is the reason why he composed 'Illustration of the *Samaya* or doctrines.' At the end of each fasciculus it is stated that this book belongs to the Sarvāstivāda. Saṅghabhadra writing about the doctrine in his preliminary remarks says,—“I have already written a treatise and called it *Nyāyānusāra* (Shum-Cheng-li, Conformity to Truth). Those who are fond of philosophical speculation have to study it. With the phrases and sentences so detailed and elaborate, a research into it is a matter of difficulty. One will not be able to understand it unless one works hard. In order to make it easy to be understood by curtailing the elaborate composition, I again compiled an abridged treatise and called it *Samaya-praṭīpikā* (Hsien-tsung, Exposition of the doctrine). I embellished Vasubandhu's *Kārikās*, and regarded them as the course of reference. I cut short those extensive concluding arguments which are found in the *Nyāyānusāra*, and set forth the right expositions against Vasubandhu's proofs to illustrate the true excellent doctrine to which we adhere.” This book is preserved for us in Chinese by Hiuen Tsang.

There are other books translated by Hiuen Tsang and others, but their detailed notice need not be taken. The literary activity of the Sarvāstivāda covers at least not less than ten centuries of the intellectual life of India. But this vast literature, rich in philosophy, is entirely lost to us and before we reconstruct the history of Indian philosophy these and other books must be studied from the Chinese.¹

Of his seventy-five works about forty books belonged to Abhidharma. Āśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were the principal writers on Mahāyāna philosophy. To be brief about the philosophical thoughts among the Buddhists, we can say that Āryadeva, Āśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna were great teachers of the Mādhyamika School, and Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu were the founders and exponents of Yogācāra Philosophy. The Yogācāra branch

1 See Takakusu's article in the *JPTS.*, 1904-1905, pp. 64-146.

teaches Vijñānavāda, that is, nothing exists outside consciousness and repudiates Śūnyavāda. Paramārtha imported from Magadha to China the works of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in 559 A. D. Hiuen Tsang translated four of Asaṅga's books and seven of Vasubandhu's thirty-six works and he is the real founder of Yogācāra school in China.

Besides these, other important books as well as books of minor importance were rendered into Chinese. His *Vajracchedikā*, *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, *Vimala-kṛti-nirdeśa*,¹ *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, etc. are well-known to the students of Buddhism. Among the other works that he brought to China were treatises on Grammar, Shing-ming-lun and Pe-ye-kia-lan-man (Edkins). There are three books on logic in Chinese² of which two were translated by Hiuen Tsang and one by I-tsing. But really these are two books, as one is only re-translated by I-tsing. These are Śaṅkara-svāmin's *Hetuvidyā-nyāya-praveśa-śāstra* or *Nyāyapraveśa-tarkaśāstra* and Nāgārjuna's *Nyāya dvāra-tarkaśāstra*.

In Chinese the books are attributed to Śaṅkarasvāmin and Nāgārjuna but they are really compositions of the great logician Dignāga. In Tibetan we find Dignāga³ as the author of the work *Nyāya-praveśa*. The other work attributed to Nāgārjuna is clearly a mistake of name for Dignāga.

The influence of Indian logic in China and Japan can easily be gauged from the very fact that in the Otani Library, Japan, there are about 120 books both printed and Mss. on Indian logic written in Chinese and Japanese.⁴ Among these only three translations of two

1 See the catalogue of Chinese and Japanese Books and Mss. in the Otani University Library (Japanese), p. 271, also Dignāga's *Nyāya-praveśa* and Haribhadra's commentary on it edited by N. Mironor (St. Petersburg). *Jaina-śāsana*, pp. 133-138.

Its Sanskrit text has been edited by Principal Dhruva of Hindu University; and the Tibetan text by Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya of Visvabhārati, both to be published in one volume in the Gaekward Oriental Series, Baroda.

2 See the English Translation of *Vimalakṛti-nirdeśa* by Hokei Idumi—*The Eastern Buddhist*, 1924-25, 26 continued.

3 Badajiro Sugiura—*Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*, Philadelphia, 1900.

4 See Sugiara's books, the bibliography portion specially.

Sanskrit works are in Nanjio's catalogue. In the supplement of Kioto edition of the Tripiṭaka about eleven more books on Nyāya are named; but they are all *Vṛttis* or commentaries by Chinese or Japanese monks. There are six books on Dignāga's *Nyāyadvāṛa-tarkaśāstra* (Nanjio, 1223, 1224), five of which are written in Chinese and one in Japanese. But Śāṅkara-svāmin's (or Dignāga's) *Nyāyapraveśa* found more favour in both the countries and there are more than eighty books on logic written in Chinese and Japanese. [Catalogue of the Otani University (Japan), pp. 260-261].¹

The other heretical opponent in philosophy was the Vaiśeṣika. Its view-point was made known to the Chinese by Hiuen Tsang.

Vaiśeṣika
philosophy in
China.

This was known as *Daśapadārthaśāstra* and is an enlarged work of the *Ṣaṭpadārtha* of the Vaiśeṣika Śāstra,

Its original is lost and an English translation of the Chinese text by Mr. H. Ui, published in the Royal

Asiatic Society Translation Series, has been of immense value to the students of Indian philosophy.

The Chinese title of the Vaiśeṣika treatise is *Shang-tsung-shih-chu-i-lun* and is known in Sanskrit as *Vaiśeṣika-(nikāya)-daśapadārthaśāstra*, i.e. a treatise on the ten categories of the Vaiśeṣika. It was composed by a follower of that philosophy, whose name is transliterated into Chinese as Chan ta lo which in Sanskrit would be simply *Candra*, in Chinese translation "wisdom-moon." According to later commentators, who give the full name, it is Chan-ta-(lo)-moti i.e. Candramati or Mati-candra. We know nothing of the life of this Indian Vaiśeṣika philosopher as his book in original Sanskrit is not known at present. According to Mr. Ui, Candra lived not later than the first half of the sixth century (p. 10).

It was probably taken to China by Hiuen Tsang and translated by him in 648 A.D. A tradition says that Kwei-chi, a famous disciple of Hieun Tsang, wrote a commentary on the treatise, but this, says Mr. Ui is perhaps a mistake.

Hiuen Tsang, as we have seen, translated a great many Sanskrit works into Chinese; but his main effort appears to have been devoted to the translation of the works of the Sarvāstivāda, specially, the *Abhidharmakośaśāstra*, and of the Vijñānavāda, especially *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-śāstra*. His disciples were divided principally between

¹ Indian Logic has been dealt with in detail in the section *Tibet* where numerous books on logic have been preserved.

these two schools, though he introduced literatures of many other schools of thought. Kwei-chi is the orthodox propagator of Vijñānavāda and an authority on the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi*. This is a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Vijñapti-mātratā-triṃśat-kārikā*, which is a highly authoritative exposition of the Vijñānavāda and had ten commentaries by as many different Indian authors. Hiuen Tsang first translated the ten commentaries, but he afterwards amalgamated them with the commentary by Dharmapāla, the teacher of his teacher Śīlabhadra. The *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* is ascribed to Dharmapāla, and it is said that Kwei-chi commented on the work. Dharmapāla's work adopts an idealistic standpoint in epistemology and metaphysics and refutes the realistic systems, the Sāṅkhya, the Vaiśeṣika, other minor schools, and Hinayāna Buddhism. From Kwei-chi's commentaries we can gather many facts concerning the attitude of philosophers towards *Vaiśeṣika* and other Indian systems of thought.

Hiuen Tsang was followed by a number of workers in the field of translation. Shih Chu-T'ung,¹ a Chinese śramaṇa translated some four books on Dhāraṇis and topics of allied nature ; Bhagavaddharma,² a śramaṇa of West India translated one work ; Atigupta³ and Jñānabhadra⁴ were each responsible for one book. Though translations of only two works are attributed to Puṇyopāya or Nandi,⁵ he is known to us for his more important contributions. He reached China in 655 A.D. but before that he made extensive tours throughout India and Ceylon and collected 1,500 different manuscripts of the Tripiṭaka of both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna schools. This vast collection he carried to his new home in China and must have deposited them in some monastery library. In 656 he was sent by the Chinese emperor to some island in the China Sea to find some strange medicine. Nandi-Puṇyopāya, it seems, must have been an expert pharmacopist, otherwise the emperor would not have selected this new immigrant for this herb discovery. He returned to China in 663 A.D. and translated three books, of which two *paripicchās* are extant.

Indian settlers from Further India went to China. Jñānabhadra, a śramaṇa from Po-liang or Ho-liang (Kaling—Java ?) in the South

Successors of
Hiuen Tsang.

Puṇyopāya and
his Sanskrit
manuscripts.

1 Nanjio App. II, 134.

3 " " " 136.

5 " " " 137.

2 Nanjio App. II, 135.

4 " " " 138.

Sea, helped the Chinese traveller Houi-Ning, who passed that country on his journey to India in 664-666 A.D. We do not know if he actually went to China.

Divākara, a śramaṇa from Central India, came to China in 676 A.D. and lived till 688 and during these years nineteen works were translated by him. But in a preface to his works by the T'ang Empress Wu Ts'-thien (684-705 A.D.) Divākara is said

Divākara.

to have translated only ten works with the help of ten Chinese assistants, accomplishing the work in 685 A. D. Divākara translated various books including two books on Abhidharma—one being a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Pañcaskandhaka Śāstra* (Nanjio, 1175) by Sthiramati, and the other was *Vajracchedikā-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra Śāstra* of Bodhisattva Guṇada, which seems to be a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* in the *Prajñāpāramitā* series. But his more important and enduring work was his translation of *Lalita-vistara*¹ (Nanjio, 159 ; Tok. Ed., ix, 7b). The literal

Lalita-vistara.

translation of the Chinese name of this book is *Vaipulya-Mahāvīrya-sūtra*. There is another title of this book which if translated would be '*Rddhivikrīḍita (Sūtra)*' or *Rddhi-kumāra-vikrīḍita (Sūtra)*'. The *Lalita-vistara* was not translated into Chinese for the first time by Divākara. It had been translated four times, but the first and the third were lost in 730 A. D., when the Khai-Yuen-lu-Catalogue was compiled. The two missing translations were both entitled *Phu-Yao-Ching* which would mean '*Samanta-prabhava-sūtra*.' The first was translated under the Later Han Dynasty, during 221-263 A.D., but the translator's name is lost. The third was translated under the Sung Dynasty (420-479 A. D.) by Chu-Yen and Pao-Yun. Of the extant translations the first was done by Chu-Fa-hu or Dharmarakṣa in 305 A. D., and the second was done by Divākara. As a matter of fact we do not at all know

1 Sanskrit Text, edited by Rajendra Lala Mitra, Bib. Indica, 1853 ; English Translation of a few chaps. by R. L. Mitra, Bib. Indica, 3 fasc., 1881-86. *Lalitavistara Erzählung von dem Leben und der Lehre des Śākyasimha*.....Deutsche übersetzt von Dr. S. Leffmann, Berlin, 1874 ; L.-V. *Leben u. Lehre des Śākyā Buddha*. Text ausgabe, mit varianten, metren u. Worterverzeichniss, von Leffmann, Halle 1902 ; French Translation of the Tibetan version of L.-V. by P. E. Foucaux, Paris. *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. vi, xix, Paris, 1887-92.

whether the Chinese biography of the Buddha mentioned above as *Phu-Yao-Ching* is really a translation of the Sanskrit text.¹

Buddhatrāta and Buddhapāla, two Indian teachers, went from Kubha or Kabul and translated two works. Devaprajña and Śikṣānanda were natives of Khotan, the great centre of Indo-Chinese culture where among the East Iranian peoples, Indians and Chinese elements met and there was a large Indian population. Devaprajña translated six works, one of which was a book on Abhidharma by Sthiramati called *Mahāyāna Abhidharma Saṃyukta-Saṅgīti Sūtra* (Nanjio, 1178), which was a commentary on a book of that name by Asaṅga (Nanjio, 1199). Śikṣānanda was abler and better known than his other countrymen; and as many of his books are very important, I shall dwell upon some of them here.

In the Chinese Tripiṭaka there is a class of books known as *Avatamsaka*. Under the Eastern T'sin Dynasty (317-420) Buddhābhadda and his associates translated *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahā-vaipulya-śāstra*, but it was not completed. The more complete copy of the text was in Khotan and the Empress Wu Tso-thien sent a special envoy for the Sanskrit text. Śikṣānanda translated it in 80 fasciculi and 39 chapters. The Empress herself took part in this translation and wrote a preface to this book.

Śikṣānanda's other important work was the *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*² to which the Empress also wrote a preface. I might mention here in passing that there are three translations of this book,—one by Guṇa (Bhūmi)-bhadda, which is incomplete, the other two by Bodhiruci and Śikṣānanda. The last two agree with the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions, the latter having been edited by B. Nanjio in Japan (1923). The book gives a report of the miraculous visit of Buddha Śākyamuni to Rāvaṇa, the king of Ceylon. Rāvaṇa pays his reverence to the Buddha and presses him for a reply to a number of his enquiries touching 'Dharma.' The answers given by the Buddha which represent the doctrine of the Yogācāra school,

1 Nariman, *Sanskrit Buddhism*, pp. 19-27.

2 In the fourth Band of "*Koku-Yaku-Daizokyo*" (Tripiṭaka translated into Japanese), vols. 13, 14 recently published. Rev. Yamakani Sogen has given an expository introduction to the Sūtra, and a Japanese translation of the Chinese 'Laṅkāvatāra' by Śikṣānanda. B. Nanjio has prepared another Japanese translation from the original Sanskrit (Nanjio, *Intro. to Laṅkāvatāra*, Tokio).

go to form the main contents of the Sūtra. It is, moreover, interesting inasmuch as it exposes the tenets of the Sāṅkhyas, Vaiśeṣikas, Pāsupatas and other philosophical schools and religious denominations of Brāhmaṇic origin.

The *Avataṃsaka* is one of the most important books on Buddhism, and its deep philosophical thoughts have inspired many sects to accept it as their scripture. In Sanskrit there is no book known by that name. But in the collection of Buddhist books found in Nepal there is a book called *Gaṇḍa-vyūha*. The work is reckoned as one of the nine principal scriptures of the Buddhists, and held in high esteem. It gives the story of Sudhana in search of the perfect knowledge (R. L. Mitra, p. 90). It has been inaccurately identified by Mitra with the Chinese *Ghana-vyūha* translated by Divākara and Amoghavajra, but the mistake had been committed much earlier by Burnouf. *Ghana-vyūha* and *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* are two distinct works mentioned in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit Buddhist dictionary of the ninth century. Pelliot has compared the contents of *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* with the Tibetan versions of *Avataṃsaka* and found similarity. Its identity has also been recognised by Prof. Watanabe of Tokio. The full title of the book however is *Mahāvaipulya-buddha-gaṇḍa-vyūha-yukti-sūtram*. Generally some used the name as *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* and others as *Buddha Avataṃsaka*, as it fell under Avataṃsaka literature. But it is the one and the same book.¹

In the T'ang Dynasty Chau-Kuang, the fourth patriarch of the Avataṃsaka school who died in 806 wrote an original commentary on Śikṣānanda's *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (Ta-feng Kuang-fo-hua-yen-ching-shu) in 60 fasciculi, and further a sub-commentary on it in 90 fasc. (Nanjio 1589, 1590) was written by him. Phu-tsmi of the Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368 A. D.) compiled a record of the explanation of the hidden meaning of the introductory part of the commentary on the Avataṃsaka in 40 fasciculi (Nanjio, 1622).

Another important work translated by Śikṣānanda was *Śraddhotpāda Sāstra*, attributed to Aśvaghōṣa. It is a philosophical treatise on the Mahāyāna Faith, which is studied even today in the monasteries of Japan. It was translated twice, once in 534 A.D. and again in 710 A.D. From Śikṣānanda's version Suzuki prepared an English version, called the *Discourse on the*

Śraddhotpāda
Sāstra.

¹ Pelliot—Notes a propos d'un catalogue du Kanjur, *J. A.*, 1914, July-Aug, pp. 118-121; also *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 663.

Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna (Nanjio, 1259). Suzuki holds Aśvaghoṣa, the poet of *Buddhacarita*, to be the author and asserts on the basis of the book itself that the actual founder of Mahāyāna was Aśvaghoṣa. The doctrine which the book teaches is, however, that of Vijñānavāda as taught by Asaṅga and the teaching of *Tathāgata-garbha* and the *Tathatā* which occurs in the *Laṅkāvatāra*. Prof. Takakusu, who holds the authorship of Aśvaghoṣa as altogether out of the question, says that the older catalogue of the Chinese text, does not contain the name of Aśvaghoṣa as the author. Although M. Sylvain Lévi says, "The poet of the *Buddhacarita* shows him here a profound metaphysician, as an intrepid reviver of a doctrine which was destined to regenerate Buddhism" (quoted by Nariman). We are, however, not inclined to accept Prof. Takakusu's views. The Sanskrit original of *Śraddhotpāda Śāstra* is long lost. According to the Chang-Yüan Catalogue (compiled between A.D. 784-804) the Sanskrit text is said to have existed at that time. It is a great pity that such an important Buddhist philosophical work as this can only be studied now through translation.

Two Chinese translations of this work exist in the Tripiṭaka collection. The first translation was made by Paramārtha already referred to in 554 A.D. The second one was done by Śikṣānanda of Khotan, of whom we have just now read. The originals of these two translations were not the same, the one having been brought from Ujjayini and the other from Khotan. But the difference is not fundamental. According to an unknown Chinese writer, quoted by Suzuki, the Sanskrit original found by Śikṣānanda in Tzu-an Tower was older of the two, and he translated it with the help of several native Buddhist priests.¹ Of the two translations Paramārtha's has found a more popular acceptance in Japan as well as in China, not because it is more faithful to the original, but because a learned and brilliant Buddhist scholar called Fa-tsang (A.D. 643-712) wrote a commentary on it and on that account the commentary is more studied than the text itself. Fa-tsang also assisted Śikṣānanda in preparing the second translation, but he preferred the first one for his commentary work, partly because the first one had already found a wide circulation among the commentators before his time, and partly because both translations agreeing in all their important points, he did not like to

1 Suzuki, *The Awakening of Faith*, p. 40.

show his "partiality" as a commentator, as Fa-tsang says, to the one in the preparation of which he himself took part (Suzuki, p. 41). No Sanskrit commentary of this important work has yet been discovered, but the Buddhist population of China studied it most carefully. Fa-tsang compiled the commentary (Nanjio, 1625, 5 fasc.) during the T'ang Dynasty. In the Sung period, another learned monk revised the work and published it in 15 fasciculi (Nanjio, 1626).

Non-Buddhist Indians sometimes translated Buddhist books. Li-Wu-thao, a Brahman of Lan-po in Northern India, is mentioned as a translator of a Dhāraṇī in 700 A.D. In 705, Mitrasena an Indian Śramaṇa residing at Tukhara (Tokhara-East of Kucha) translated a minor Dhāraṇī. Ratna-cintā, a Śramaṇa of Kāśmīra is responsible for seven translations in 9 fasciculi and he wrote between 693-706 A.D. He died in 721 when he was more than 100 years old. All his works were minor Dhāraṇīs or sūtras of indifferent value and shows the signs of degenerate state of Buddhism soon to follow.

After Hiuen Tsang's death, another Buddhist monk I-tsing by name started for India in 671 A.D., and arrived in 673. The object of I-tsing's tour was to know more thoroughly about the Vinaya or Buddhist views of Discipline. He wanted to correct the misrepresentations of the Vinaya rules, and to refute the erroneous opinions held by the schools of Vinayadharas then existing in China. I-tsing was a great traveller. He was twenty five years (671-695) abroad and travelled in more than thirty countries. In India he studied at Nālandā and visited almost all the sacred places. He spent a good many years in Śrī-vijaya in Sumatra, which was once a great centre of Sanskrit and Indian culture and politically as important as Singapore of today. He wrote a book called *Record of Buddhist Practices in Southern Seas*. He returned to China in 695, and took home some four hundred different Sanskrit texts, the ślokaś numbering five hundred thousand, and a plan of the Vajrāsana of the Buddha. Between A.D. 700-712 I-tsing translated 56 works in 230 volumes. Among these works there are several important Sūtras and Śāstras, but in order to know how he represented the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, it will suffice to mention here only the Vinaya texts :—

- 1 Mūla-sarvāstivāda-Vinaya-Sūtra I Fasc. (agrees with Tibetan) (Nanjio, 1110).
- 2 °Vinaya in 50 fasc. (No. 1118).

His works on
Mūlasārvastivāda.

- 3 °Saṃyukta-Śāstra 40 fasc. (No. 1121)
- 4 °Saṅghabhedakavastu 20 fasc. (No. 1123)
- 5 °Nikāya-Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya 20 fasc. (No. 1124)
- 6 °Vinaya Saṅgraha—originally done by the Venerable Jinamitra. It had a Tibetan version. (No. 1127)
- 7 °Ekaśata-Karman 10 fasc. (No. 1131).
- 8 °Nidāna 5 fasc. (No. 1133).
- 9 °Mātrkā 5 fasc. (No. 1134).
- 10 °Vinaya Nidāna-Mātrkā-Gāthā 15 leaves. (No. 1140).
- 11 °Vinaya-Saṃyukta-Vastu-Gāthā 10 leaves. (No. 1141).
- 12 °Vinaya-Gāthā 4 fasc. composed by Vaiśākhyā. (No. 1143).
- 13 °Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya-Sūtra 2 fasc. (No. 1146). Besides these, six more Vinaya books were done into Chinese by I-tsing, viz.,
 - i °Pravarjya (upasampadā) vastu, 4 fasc.
 - ii °Varṣāvāsa Śāstra
 - iii °Pravāraṇa Vastu
 - iv °Carma Vastu
 - v °Bhaiṣajya Vastu 18 fasc.
 - vi °Kāṭhina-civara Vastu.

I-tsing thus represented the whole text of the Vinaya belonging to the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Nikāya, and founded a new school for the study of this branch of Buddhist literature in China (Takakusu, Records, Intro.). I-tsing is also responsible for some translations of Abhidharma works by Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Nāgārjuna, three magnets of the Mahāyāna. He translated Dīnāga's book on *Nyāya Praveśa* which had been translated previously by Hiuen Tsang in 648 A.D. *Vajra-cchedikā Prajñā-pāramitā* (Nanjio, 14) and *Sūtrāśāstra* (Nanjio, 1231) composed by Asaṅga and its commentary (also No. 1231) by Vasubandhu were also rendered into Chinese by I-tsing. I-tsing wrote an appendix to the book where he explained in the last verse of the Śāstra, the meaning of Prajñā. Some catalogue-makers have considered this work as an independent one. Another important book of Abhidharma, *Vijñānamātra Siddhi*, by Vasubandhu had been twice translated into Chinese. In India a commentary was compiled by Bodhisattva Dharmapāla, which was translated by I-tsing.

As we owe to I-tsing the preservation of Buddhist books on Vinaya in Chinese translation, the Sanskrit originals of which have

been lost, we owe a great deal to his contemporary Bodhiruci for the translation of a bulk of literature known as Ratnakūṭa, equally lost to us in the original with a few exceptions. Bodhiruci's original name was Dharmaruci, which was changed into Bodhiruci by the order of the Empress Wu Tso-thien. He was a Śramaṇa of Southern India and a Brāhmaṇa by caste. He translated between 693-713 A.D., fifty-three works in 111 fasciculi, of which 12 works in 12 fasciculi were already missing in 730 A. D. It is said he died in his 156th year in 727 A. D. His most stupendous work was his edition of *Mahā-ratnakūṭa-Sūtra* (Nanjio, 23; 120 fasc.). This is a collection of 49 sūtras, arranged by Bodhiruci, who himself translated 26 of them (Nanjio, App. II, 150). He became so popular that the Emperor Tsui-tsung wrote a preface concerning the life of Bodhiruci. Su-no, a contemporary of our writer, also wrote an introduction to his Ratnakūṭa work.

During the first quarter of the eighth century Buddhism still continued to be favoured as state religion with a very brief period of reaction under Emperor Hsüan Tsang. It was represented to him that rich families wasted their substance on religious edifices and that the inmates were well-to-do persons desirous of escaping the burdens of public service. Buildings of monasteries and copying sūtras, making images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas were forbidden and 12,000 monks were ordered to return to the world. In the latter part of his life he became more tolerant and Buddhism again flourished. During this period, only four translators worked. Pāramita, (Pramiti), a Śramaṇa of Central India, together with Meghaśikha of Udyāna and Hwai-ti, a Chinese monk, translated a work on Sūraṅgama Sūtra in 705 A.D. (Nanjio, App. II, 151). Shih Chu-Yen, a son of the king of Kutsana (Khotan), who was sent to China as a hostage, became a Śramaṇa there in 707 A.D. He stayed there in a monastery, learnt Chinese and translated four books in 721 A.D.

III

The second quarter of the eighth century marks the introduction of Tāntrism in China with the advent of Vajrabodhi and his pupil Amogha-vajra in 719 A.D. According to Tibetan chronicles 'the first of all the Tāntrikas who came to China from India was Sthavira Śrimitra'. He was an heir-apparent to a king of India, but gave up his realm in favour of

his younger brother and became a Śramaṇa. He came to China in 307-312 A.D., when the Western T'sin was ruling at Nanking. 'He diffused the knowledge of Tāntrikism by translating the Mahāyāna and other Dhāraṇīs into the Chinese language. Although contemporaneously with him many other eminent Indian Tāntriks came to China yet very few books on Tāntrikism had been translated for the public. The sage Kumāraśrī also did not communicate his Tāntrik lore to the general public, but only to one or two of his reliable disciples, so that Tāntrikism made very little progress in China.' (*JASB.*, 1882, p. 93). During the period of four hundred years

Vajrabodhi, the
Tāntrik teacher
in China.

that intervened between Śrimitra and Vajrabodhi, a number of Dhāraṇīs were translated by various writers.

In A. D. 719 Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra arrived in China and reached Chang-an, the capital of the T'angs during the reign of the Emperor Hsuo Tsung (T'ang-ming-hung—Tibetan). Vajrabodhi instructed two Chinese monks in Tāntrik mysticism. He is said to have translated eleven works mostly on Tantra or Dhāraṇī. His principal works were *Caṇḍi-devī-dhāraṇī*, (No. 345), *Vajraśekhara Yoga-tantra* (No. 534), *Sarvathāgata Vajrāyur-dhāraṇī*, (No. 960), *Vajraśekhara-Vimāna-Sarvayogayogi-Sūtra* (No. 1039), *Vajrāyur-dhāraṇī-adhyāya-kalpa* (No. 1391), *Vajraśekhara-sūtra-yogāvalokiteśvara-rāja-tathāgata-caryākālpā* (No. 1430), etc. All these books seem to be scriptures on Vajrayāna, and the name Vajrabodhi itself seems to be an assumed name.

Amoghavajra, when he came with his master Vajrabodhi, was only twenty-one years old. His Guru at his death-bed (732 A.D) instruct-

Amoghavajra.

ed him to go to India and Ceylon for the purpose of collecting some texts. It was not before 741 that he could fulfil his Guru's request and went back to India. He writes "from my boyhood I served the late teacher for fourteen years and received his instruction in Yoga. Then I went to the five parts of India, and collected several Sūtras and Śāstras more than five hundred different texts, which had hitherto not yet been brought to China. In A.D. 746, I came back to the capital. From the same year till the present time (771 A.D.). I translated seventy-seven works in more than 120 fasciculi." He was greatly honoured by the Chinese Emperor and was given various honorific titles for his great work for the cause of Buddhism. He wanted to come back to India, but he was indispensable and could not be spared. He died in 774 A.D. in his 70th year, greatly honoured even after his death by the Imperial Order. He

was held in veneration at the court of successive Emperors of the T'ang Dynasty. Under his influence the Tantra doctrine first gained ground in China. Tibetan chronicles say that he performed the ceremony of *Vajra-Garbha Maṇḍala* for the benefit of the king who, on account of his devotion to Buddhism, was given the religious name of Ta-Kuang-Shih-San-Tsang, i.e., Repository of wisdom and knowledge of the Tripiṭaka. He is said to have performed many other miraculous works for the good of the Emperor. Being pleased with him for his eminent services, the king made him a gift of a piece of land supporting 3,000 tenants. After his retirement Hui-lang was installed in Amoghavajra's place as Guru or Vajrācārya.

Although both Vajrabodhi and Amogha-vajra and their disciples passed for Saints and Sages, yet Tāntrikism did not flourish long, but soon decayed. During the reign of the Sung Dynasty, Dānarakṣita, Dharma-bhadra, and other Indian Paṇḍits visited China, but being very jealous of their mystic operations which were kept secret to the public, they only communicated the *mantras* to a selected few, under solemn promise of not revealing them to the public. The later monks were instructed in only a few of the Tāntrik rites, such as the ceremony of *Amogha-pāśa*. It was owing to the several restrictions, that mysticism made no progress in China (*JASB.*, 1882, p. 94).

Amoghavajra's contribution to Chinese literature was very great. There are hundred and eight works ascribed to him in the Ming Dynasty catalogue. Amoghavajra brought, as we have seen, 500 books from India, which had never been before his time imported into China, and it is not unlikely that he translated 108 of them—mostly Tantra books.

Three years before the arrival of these great Tāntrik teachers, Śubhākara-Siṃha arrived in China in 716 A.D. He was a Śramaṇa of Central India, and a descendant of Amṛtodana, an uncle of Śākya-muni and lived in the Nālandā monastery. He brought to China a large collection of Sanskrit books and himself translated a few. Only five books are ascribed to him such as *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (No. 531), *Susiddhikara Mahā-tantra* (No. 533), etc.

In 781 Prajñā, one of the translators of the T'ang Period, came to China in order to get near the scene of Manjuśrī's labours. He translated four books and collaborated with the Nestorian priest King-Ching or Adam, who erected the famous Singan-fu monument. Between them they made a translation of the

Other Tāntrik writers.

Prajñā.

'*Śaṭ-pāramitā-sūtra*,' (10 fasciculi, 10 chapters) which they offered to the Emperor Tai-Tsung. The Emperor, however, refused to receive it, saying that King-Ching should devote himself to preaching the doctrines of *Meshis* (Messiah), leaving the Buddhists to propagate the teachings of Śākyamuni. The book therefore appears in Prajñā's name.¹ There is a preface added to it by the Emperor. Of his other books, *Buddhāvataṃsaka Vaipulya-Sūtra*, being a chapter on 'Samantabhadrapraṇīdhāna,' deserves special mention.

Wu-néng-shang and O-chih-ta-sien (Ajitasena ?), of whom we know little, were the last translators of the T'ang Dynasty. They seem to be Indians.

In 751 a mission was sent to the king of Ki-pin, which at that time meant N. E. Afganistan. The staff included Wu-Kung, also known as Dharmadhātu, who remained in India, took the vows and ultimately returned to China with many books and relics. It is probable that in this and the following centuries Hindu influence reached the outlying province of Yünan or the Southern China directly through Burma' (BEFEO., 1904, p. 161 ; Eliot, III, p. 262).

Before we close our account of the emigration of Buddhist monks, during the T'ang rule in China, we must not forget to mention a very important item of debt which China owes to India, and which fact is observed even in an ordinary text book of Chinese history. Li-ung-bing writes in his *Outlines of Chinese History*²: "About the time of the reign of Empress Wu, (of the T'ang), the Hindu calendar was for the first time adopted in China. The Kuang Chi calendar, adopted in 684, was the work of a Hindu monk employed by the empress for the purpose of revising the old calendar. In the 9th year of K'ai Yüan, A.D. 721, a Chinese Buddhist monk and celebrated astronomer, I-Hsing, was employed for the same purpose. His method of calculation was based upon that of Gautamasiddha, a Hindu monk. At about the same time, arithmetical knowledge had made rapid progress in China, and it is probable that the Chinese received much help from such Brahmanical books on arithmetic as had been

1 G. Sakurai in *Hansei Zasshi*, vol. xiii, p. 12, quoted by Lloyd in his *Creed of Half Japan*, p. 203.

2 Pp. 156-157, Shanghai, 1914.

translated by the Hindu priests. These books are now hopelessly lost, although their names remain recorded in the Catalogue of the Sui dynasty without any remark concerning them."

During the three hundred years of T'ang rule in China, Buddhism flourished inspite of some reactionary attitude and prosecution of certain Emperors. One of the principal activities in the line of literature was the cataloguing of Buddhist Canons, We have seen already that four collections existed during the Sui Dynasty, the last of which had been done in 605-616 A.D. and has been lost. In the T'ang dynasty six catalogues were compiled, some by individuals living in a monastery, others by the imperial order.

Ta-T'ang-mu-tien-lu or a Catalogue of the Buddhist books was compiled under the Great T'ang Dynasty in 16 fasciculi, by Tao-Suen in A.D. 664. This catalogue contains a list of works, whether translation or original treatises in Chinese with a biographical note of each author, and sums up the total number of works as 2487 in 8476 fasciculi. In the same year (664 A.D.) Tsing Mai compiled a catalogue which contains all the titles of translated works from the time of Kāśyapa Mātāṅga to the time of Hiuen-Tsang (617 A.D.). The number of translators was one hundred and twenty, and that of their works is 1620 (5552 fasc.) with the exception of 298 works whose translators are unknown. But these two were not done under royal orders. About thirty years later Ming-Chuen was ordered by the Empress Wu Tso-Thien (684-705) to compile a catalogue in collaboration with others (695 A.D.). This is the sixth collection made by a sovereign of China. The total number of books either translated from Sanskrit or Prākṛt or written on Buddhist or Indian subjects, was 3616 in 8521 fasciculi. Of these the number of works belonging to the Tripiṭaka of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna was 1470 in 2406 fasciculi. Besides these, 859 works in 3882 fasciculi were admitted into Chinese Buddhist Canon by the imperial order. There is a list of 228 books which were considered spurious by the learned monks at the end of this catalogue.

For a generation no more catalogues were compiled till 730 A.D., when one of the best catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was compiled by Chi-Shang. This catalogue is known as *Khai-Yuen-lu* and has been referred to in many places. It enumerates 2278 works ascribed to 176 translators, Indian and Chinese, with the exception

Catalogues of
Buddhist Tripi-
ṭaka.

T'ang
Catalogues.

Khai-yuen-lu
Catalogue, 730
A.D.

of 741 books by unknown translators. The titles of these works are given chronologically and a short account of each translator or writer is added, preceded by a list of his works and various miscellaneous items of information, such as the number into which each work is divided, variations in the title, when and where the translation was made, etc. Chi-Shang, the editor-in-chief, says, "Thus under 19 dynasties, from the Eastern Han (25-220) to T'ang (618-907), there were produced translations of the Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma or Śāstra of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna, as well as the works of the sages and wise men, altogether 2278 works in 7046 fasciculi. Of these, 1124 works are now (730 A.D.) admitted into the Canon. The number of missing works is 1148 (Nanjio). We must remember that books written by non-Buddhists were freely translated into Chinese, and sixty-six books are mentioned as still extant in 730 A. D., which were written by Indian sages, and the total number of spurious and heterodox books translated up to that date was 382. *Khai-yuen-lu* was followed by a smaller catalogue, which gives a briefer treatment of the description and an index. This may be called the Seventh Collection, made by the order of the Emperor Huen-Tsung (713-755), under whose reign this index was made (see Nanjio, Introduction).

CHINESE PILGRIMS IN INDIA

In our ordinary history we are told that three Chinese pilgrims Fa-hsien, Hiuen-Tsang, and I-tsing came to India ; but from other Chinese sources we know that since Fa-hsien's return to China in 414 A.D., Chinese youths began to pour into India by scores and sometimes by hundreds.

Chinese Pilgrims
in India—7th
century.

Down to the period of missionary activities of Kumārajīva (344-413 A.D.), Buddhism and Indian culture penetrated into China mainly through the Central Asian routes. Most of the early Sino-Buddhist texts coming down from the Lo-yang school were from the pen of Yüeh-chih, Parthians and Sogdian converts to Buddhism, working in collaboration with Chinese Buddhists. In some of the Mahāyāna texts, we find a curious mixture of Indian, Khotanese, Iranian and Chinese spirit. Linguistic test also demonstrates that most of the

earlier translations were not done directly from Indian classical language like Sanskrit and Pāli, but from popular dialects Prākṛt of various parts in which many important Buddhist books were written.

With the appearance of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.), the great period of direct Sino-Indian collaboration and communication commences.

Classical Buddhist books were imported from India by Fa-hsien and they were translated into Chinese directly. Fa-hsien visited the great intellectual centres of Takṣaśilā (Taxila) and Puruṣapura, studied for three years at Pāṭaliputra, and two years at Tāmralipti, returned to China having stopped for sometime in the Indian colonies of Ceylon and Java on his way home.¹

Fa-hsien was followed by many Chinese monks, who came to India by the N.-W. passage. The Chinese youths were fired with enthusiasm and they felt almost a romantic attraction for a journey to India. This pilgrimage continued for centuries, only occasionally stopped by political disturbance.

Hiuen Tsang was only one of the many who had been to India, but as he had a literary gift he left a travel-diary of India, for which he is known to many of us; but there were others who preceded or immediately after followed the great traveller to India who were not gifted with the talent of Hiuen Tsang and have therefore been forgotten. We find in Chinese brilliant records of such monks coming to India during the earlier part of the T'ang period.

Hiuen Tsang came out to India in 629 A.D., went back to China in 645 A.D., and died in 664 A.D. About half-a-century later I-tsing, another great Chinese traveller, came out in 671 A.D. returning to China in 695; he died in 713 A.D. These dates are important for our study of this period. I-tsing, who came back in 695, wrote a book called *Ch'iu-fa-ko-sang-chuan*, which contains lives of Chinese Buddhist priests, who visited India, during the early period of the T'ang dynasty in the latter half of the seventh century. M. Chavannes in the introduction to his French translation of that work calls attention to the remarkable fact that in a single generation sixty persons were found willing to undertake such a perilous journey. Moreover, M. Chavannes shows good reason for assuming that there were many more pilgrims of whose wanderings

Hiuen Tsang
and I-tsing.

¹ Dr. K. D. Nag, Greater India, *Calcutta Review*, 1926, January.

no record has been preserved and that the actual number of those pious palmers must have amounted to several hundreds.

I-tsing in his preface to his *Ch'iu-fa-ko-sang-chuan* (Nanjio, No. 1491) have alluded to the journeys of Fa-hsien and Hiuen Tsang, who proceeded to the Western countries to procure Buddhist books and pay reverence to the sacred relics. He briefly describes the hardships and dangers of the route, and the difficulty of finding shelter and entertainment in the different countries visited by the Chinese pilgrims to the same spots, and that in consequence of there being no temples set apart for Chinese priests. He then goes on to enumerate the names of the pilgrims referred to in his memoirs.¹

Hiuen-Chiu was a Śramaṇa of Sin-Chang in Tai-chau province. As was the custom with many, this Chinese monk took the Indian name of Prakāśamati. He came of a distinguished family and forsook the world when a youth. He made preparations to visit the sacred places of India, and for that purpose studied Buddhism through Chinese and in 638 A.D. came to a famous monastery where he applied himself to the study of Sanskrit literature. From there he proceeded towards South for India, crossed Tibet and came to Jalandhara. He spent four years in that town where the king of the Mung caused him to be detained and gave him all necessary entertainment; during that period he studied Sanskrit literature with him. After this he came to Magadha, where he spent four years; there he studied various books and went to the Nalanda monastery where he passed three years. Thence he went back to the Mung capital Amaravata but the king detained him in the monastery of his capital Sin-che, for three years. In the meantime, the Chinese ambassador Wang-hiuen-tse, who was staying in the court of some great king in the North-Western Province, urged his return and consequently he returned to Lo-yang through Nepal and Tibet.

1 Indian Antiquary, 1881; S. Beal, *Indian Travels of Chinese Buddhists*, pp. 109, 192, 246.

2 Beal's *Life of Hiouen Tsiang by Hwui Li*, Introduction, pp. xxvii-xli. Trübner, 1914.

3 Voyages des pèlerins bouddhistes. Les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident. Mémoire composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang par I-tsing, traduit par Ed. Chavannes, Paris, 1894.

The name of Wang-hiuen-tse is connected with the international politics of India, China and Tibet. After Hiuen Tsang's return to China, Harṣavardhana, the great king of Northern India wanted to open diplomatic relations with the Chinese Empire. He sent a Brahmin envoy to China in 641 A.D., who returned in 643, accompanied by a Chinese mission bearing reply to Harṣa's despatch. The mission remained till 645 A.D., when it returned home. The next year, Wang-hiuen-tse, who had been the second in command of the earlier mission, was sent by the Chinese emperor as head of a new mission. When the envoy reached India Harṣa had died (647 A.D.) and Arjuna or Aruṇāśva (O-lo-na-shuen), a minister of the late king, usurped the throne.

Wang-hiuen-tse
and Indian
politics.

The Chinese party was greatly maltreated by the tyrant and Wang-hiuen-tse and his colleagues escaped to Nepal by night. From Tibet and Nepal he got military aid and with its help the usurper was taken prisoner and carried to China. Tibet was then under Sron-gub-tsan-gampo, the mighty king, who for some time remained master of Tirhoot, which his rival had conquered.

Wang-hiuen-tse once more visited the scene of his adventures, being sent by imperial order in 657 A.D., to offer robes at the Buddhist holy places.¹

In 665 A.D. Hiuen-Chiu returned to Kashmir where he met a Brahmin Lokāyata (Lokāyata is popularly synonymous with an athiest) (Lo-kia-yih-to) and others with whom he returned to China; they were asked by the Chinese ambassador of Kashmir to go to a country called Lo-tu. The party traversed much and tried to go back through Nepal and Kapisa, but could not reach China this time. Hiuen Chiu died in the country of Amaravata in Central India aged 60 and odd years.

Hwui Lun was a native of Corea; his Indian name was Prajñavarman. He quitted his country inflamed with a desire to perform a pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism. From Corea he came to Lo-yang, the capital of China; there he was commissioned by the Emperor to follow the steps of Hiuen Chiu, who had gone to the Western countries, and to attend him as servant. Having undertaken this,

Hwui Lun, the
Corean in
India.

¹ Sylvain Lévi, *Les missions de Wang-hiuen-tsi dans l'Inde*—J. A., 1900. Translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, pp. 111; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (4th ed.), pp. 366-67.

he went from place to place, paying homage to the sacred spots of his religion. He dwelt in the monastery of Amaravata in Central India. He visited many places, one of which was the monastery of Tou-ho-la-sse, built by the Tukhara (?) people for the accommodation of their fellow countrymen. Here Hwui-Lun remained for the purpose of learning Sanskrit language. The monk visited many holy places including Nalanda. Near about it there was an old temple, the foundations of which even then remained; it was called 'China Temple'. The old story was that the temple was built by Śrīgupta Mahārāja for the priests from China. During Śrīgupta's reign about twenty

The China temple near Nalanda.

Chinese monks, having wandered away from Szu-chuen, came out near the Mahābodhi and offered their worship. The king moved with their piety, gave them a large village for their maintenance and settlement. Hwui-Lun

says that this happened 500 years ago, which is not probable; but we may believe the kernel of the story as true. He further gives some traditional history of Nalanda and says that there were three thousand and five hundred priests in the monastery of Nalanda, which was supported by revenues derived from villages given by a succession of kings to the monastery.

Fa-hsien and a group of twenty-four youngmen, who came to India after him, Hiuen Tsang and some of his contemporaries all came to India either by the North-Western passage or crossing the Himalayas. But there was another route through which communication had been established between India and China; it was the sea route, which was taken by Fa-hsien in the early fourth century A.D. We have a record of about a score of Chinese monks who came to India proper or her colonies in the South Seas, by the sea route.

Of these I-tsing is the best known to us; his travels and his contributions to the diffusion of knowledge about India and Indian literature have already been described in details.

Next we hear of two Korean monks who came as far as Śrīvijaya, formerly transliterated as Śrībhoja (in Sumatra, modern Palembang), which was a Hindu colony and a great seat of Sanskrit culture; they died there without coming to Indian mainland. Another Chinese monk named Hui-Ning left China in 665 A.D., and passed three years in Ho-ling, or Kalinga, a name applied to the coastal country of Pegu; but the identification is not final. Wan-K'i of Kiau-Chau spent ten years in the Southern Seas, and was very proficient in the language of *Kiu-lun* (of Sumatra) and

Two Korean monks.

was partly acquainted with Sanskrit. He afterwards retired to a lay life and resided at Śrīvijaya.

Mochadeva, a young Cochin-Chinese, (but as his name sounds, it seems that he was an emigrant living in further India), came to India. He visited all the countries of the Southern Seas and came to India, but died young. Another priest of Cochin-China was Kwei-Chung, who went by the Southern Seas to Ceylon. Afterwards in company with a priest called Hün-Chiu, he proceeded to the Bodhi tree and afterwards to Rājagṛha. He also died young at 30. A priest of the Mahāyāna school called Tang or the 'Lamp' (dīpa) went with his parents when young to the land of Dvāravatt, as part of Burma was called and there became a priest. He afterwards went with the Chinese envoy to Chang-an in China. Afterwards he came to India, having visited the Southern Seas and Ceylon. He lived in Tāmralipti for twelve years where he applied himself diligently to Sanskrit, acquired great proficiency in the language and then proceeded to Nalanda, Gaya and other places.

Eastern Turkestan was a Buddhist country; there was an Indian settlement too, of which we shall hear in our study on Central Asia. Two priests of Turfan going in company with a Chinese envoy through the Southern Seas died on board the ship. The books belonging to these monks, the Yoga-śāstra and others, I-tsing remarks, are still at Śrīvijaya. These priests might be Indians of Turfan and these books might be original Sanskrit texts, but we are not sure.

Tao-Lun, a Chinese priest was called Śīlaprabha by his Indian name, resided in many places in the South Seas and came to Tāmralipti, where he passed three years in the study of Sanskrit language. After visiting Buddha-Gaya, he came to Nalanda, where he studied *Kośa* for a year or two. After visiting several holy places he proceeded to South India, and going through the Maratha country in Western India, he studied a work entitled *Ta-ming-chan*, in Sanskrit the *Vedī-dhara-pīṭaka*. The current tradition is that this work was in 100,000 ślokas, which in Chinese translation would represent 300 chapters; that a great portion of it is lost and that after the death of the Buddha, the spirit of the verses was preserved by Ārya Nāgārjuna. Tao-Lun after this proceeded to Kashmir and the country of Udyana. After some further travels he died at the age of fifty.

Another priest called Tan-Kuang came to India by the Southern route, and having arrived at A-li-ki-lu (Arakan ?) he was reported to have found favour with the king and to have got a temple built, and books and images made ; finally he is said to have died there.

Hwui-ming set out for India but could not reach it owing to the ship being stopped by a contrary wind.

Hwui-Ta, a priest of Kun-chow came of a high Chinese family. He appears to have accompanied an envoy in a Persian ship to the Southern seas. Having arrived at Śrīvijaya he remained there for six months studying the *Śabda-vidyā* or the science of grammar. After visiting several places he came to Tāmralipti where he met Mahāyāna Dīpa or Tang mentioned above. In this place, they remained together one year learning Sanskrit and practising *Śabda Śāstra*. After some further vicissitudes he reached Nalanda where he lived for ten years, and then going back to Tāmralipti he returned to Quedah with all his books and translations, amounting in all to 500,000 ślokas, enough to fill 1000 volumes ; he remained at Śrīvijaya.

A priest named Lingwan took the route through Annam and came to India and erected under the Bodhi-tree, a figure of Maitreya Bodhisattva, one cubit in height and of exquisite beauty. Lingwan had a companion named

Lingwan and
other Monks.

Seng-chi who came to India by the Southern Sea route.

Having arrived at Samatāṭa he found the King of that country, Harṣa-vardhana by name, a upāsaka, who greatly revered the three objects of worship. Another Chinese priest Chi-'Sze went to the south and resided at Shang-King near Cochin China ; he then went south to Śrīvijaya, and afterwards proceeded to India. Chi-'Sze was accompanied by a priest named Wou-Lung. He visited Ceylon, Burma and many other places till he arrived in India. He studied at Nalanda the *Yoga*, *Kośa* and other works. Moved with a desire to obtain copies of the Vinaya, he went to Khardah (Kie-lo-ch'a) temple near the Mahābodhi. In the end he died at Nalanda. Fa-chin never reached India proper although he visited many places of Greater India. Ta-tsing of Lai-chow visited India and returned to the Southern Seas in 682 A. D., and after sending his books and images to China, he himself resided at Śrīvijaya, where he acted as an interpreter of the Kiu-lun language. He returned to Chang-an in 693 A. D.

I-tsing mentions twenty-one Chinese monks, who came to India by the Northern land route, of whom the following are noteworthy.

Tao-Hi, a man of noble descent, who took his Indian name as Śrīdeva, visited India during the T'ang period. He resided at Mahābodhi for several years and lived in Nalanda as well for sometime ; while remaining at Nalanda he studiously applied himself to the study of Mahāyāna. He also resided at Chu-po-pun-na and studied the *Vinaya Pīṭaka* and *Śabda-vidyā*. Whilst in the Mahābodhi he engraved a memorial tablet in the Chinese language. He left more than 400 volumes, new and old, of Chinese sūtras and śāstras, at Nalanda. I-tsing did not meet this monk, for he had gone to Amaravati where he died at the age of fifty, but he saw his chamber at Nalanda.

Another young Chinese Doctor of Dharma, Sse-Pin came to India by the Northern route ; he was well-versed in the Sanskrit Tantras. He met Tao-Hi in Amarakuva. He died after remaining one summer in India.

A Korean monk named Ārya-varma left Chang-an about 638 A. D., and came to Nalanda, where he engaged himself in copying many sūtras. He was deeply versed in the Vinaya and Abhidharma. He died at Nalanda at about seventy. During this time another Korean monk Hwui-Nieh came to India, lived in the Mahābodhi Temple and then went to Nalanda, where he dwelt for a long time, reading and studying. I-tsing when arranging some Chinese books in the Nalanda Monastery Library saw some records of Hwui-Nieh. On enquiry at the temple, the priests said that the Korean priest who lived there died the same year at the age of sixty. The Sanskrit books copied by him were preserved at Nalanda Vihāra.

The third Korean monk Hiuen-T'ai called by the Sanskrit name of Sarvajñānadeva went in 650 A. D. to Middle India by the Tibetan road through Nepal ; he visited Mahābodhi and other places in India and returned to China. He was a contemporary of Tao-Hi, whom he met in the Tukhara country, by which Eastern Turkestan is meant. Another Korean monk came to India, only to die at Mahābodhi, without accomplishing any work worth remembering.

A Hindu colonist of Tukhāra country (Kucha or Turfan) named Bodhidharma, a man of great bodily size and strength, came to China and became a priest. He came to India and I-tsing met him at Nalanda. The priest died in North India at fifty or so.

Korean Monks
in India.

A Hindu of
Turkestan.

I-tsing speaks of another Chinese monk of Ping-Chau, who came to Nepal and was living there while he wrote the book. Tao-Sing, a Doctor of the Dharma, called in Sanskrit Candradeva, came by the Turfan road to Middle India in 549 A.D. He was greatly honoured at Nalanda. Twelve stages east to Nalanda, there was a monastery of the Hīnayāna, where Tao-Sing remained for many years learning the books of Tripiṭaka according to the Hīnayāna. He returned to China through Nepal.

Tao-Sing or
Candradeva.

Shang-Tih was a priest of the Dhyāna School founded by Bodhidharma. He was very ardent and wanted to come to India, but on the way the ship which was bringing them to India sank and the brave monk was drowned praying on board the ship. He had vowed to write out the whole of the Prajñā Sūtras in 10,000 chapters. He only finished part of his vow in China.

Shang-Tih.

Matisimha, a man of the Capital whose common name was Wong-po, accompanied the priest Sse-Pin and, arriving at the Madhyadesa, began to learn Sanskrit. But he made little progress in the sacred language and he went to Nepal and died on the way there.

Matisimha or
Wong-po.

I-tsing mentions several other monks who either came to India or lived in Tukhāra, which is Eastern Turkestan. These monks learned Sanskrit and two of them, coming from Turfan, lived in Nepal; they spoke Sanskrit well. A Doctor of Dharma named Lung got a copy of Sanskrit *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*. He died at Gandhāra.

Ming Yuen, a Chinese monk, whose Sanskrit name was Cintādeva, came to Ceylon by the sea-route; and so much was his enthusiasm for religion and greed for relics, that he tried to steal the famous tooth-relic of Ceylon, but was detected and disgraced.

I-long, a priest of Yih-chau, well-versed in the Vinaya-Piṭaka, and the interpretation of Yogācāra, set forth from Chang-an with two other persons; one having died on the way, two came to Ceylon, where they worshipped the tooth-relic and having obtained various books returned through Western India. I-tsing

I-long in
Ceylon.

says that he never heard of him in Middle India. It would be interesting to know what books from Ceylon were taken by the monk in the middle of the seventh century, when Pāli Buddhism was predominant there. Ceylon had been visited by Chinese monks. It is a common mistake that in China Mahāyāna alone was preached. We have proofs of the existence of Sanskrit Hīnayāna books in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, but we have not definitely come across any Pāli book in translation, nor of any book belonging to the Theravāda.

Sin-Chin, whose Sanskrit name was Caritavarman came by the Northern route and died young.

Saṅghavarman was a native of Samarkhand or Central Asia. He first went to China, and then came to India to the Mahābodhi.

He went back to China and died at Cochin China while relieving an epidemic there. Besides these there were a few travellers whom we can pass over.

Saṅghavarman of
Samarkhand.

These monks came to India to study Buddhism in the soil where it originated. The number of Chinese and other non-Indian monks, who came to visit India, in comparison with the great difficulty of the route, was indeed very great. These fifty-four monks we have already

pointed out came to India a little before I-tsing, and some were his contemporaries. The enthusiasm and

Religious
enthusiasm.

activity on the part of Chinese people can thus easily be gauged. From the perusal of the above the readers will form the idea that it is not only the Indians who had gone out to preach but that other peoples also had enthusiasm. We shall however see again that in the tenth century there is again such an outburst of holy pilgrimage to India.

(*To be continued*)

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

Siege of Bednore, 1783

Tipu Sultan's own story—translated from his Memoirs (India Office MS.)—and accounts of two English eye-witnesses

A full and detailed story of the siege of Bednore cannot fail to be of interest to students of Indian History.

Tipu was much elated at the complete success of his army over the English force under General Matthews during this famous siege. He has given a vivid story of his much-vaunted victory in the *Memoirs* written by himself.

The Persian manuscript of the *Memoirs*, which had been in the possession of Col. Kirkpatrick, is now preserved in the India Office Library, London (No. 3565, Glass case). A photographic copy from this India Office MS. is in the possession of Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar.¹ Col. Kirkpatrick has given a short introduction to the *Memoirs* in his *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*, published in 1811. He says that this Persian work, written by the Sultan himself, was designated *Tārīkh-i-Khudādādī*, i.e. History of the *Khudā-dād Sarkār* (lit. God-given government). He found an imperfect copy of the work, the narrative being brought down only as far as 1787. The first three pages of the India Office MS. are missing. These were "accidentally destroyed", as has been mentioned by Col. Kirkpatrick, after the MS. had come into his possession. On the first page of the MS. in hand, we find ourselves in the middle of the account of the earliest stage of the siege of Bednore; and in the succeeding few pages, we have a vivid description of the event.

¹ I must take the opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. Sarkar, who kindly allowed me to use this photographic copy, while I worked at Patna under his guidance to have a thorough training for conducting original research work in History. My best thanks are also due to my teacher, Maulavi P. D. Zafar, B. A. (of Patna), with whose help I translated a large portion of the *Memoirs*.

Wilks, in his *History of Mysore*, has given an account of this famous incident.¹ He read Tipu's *Memoirs*, but he appears to have put little or no faith in the story as related therein. We have no doubt that there are exaggerations and inaccuracies in the Sultan's own account, but we are not in any way warranted in disbelieving the whole of it. Wilks had no access, as he has himself admitted, to accounts of this event written by any of the besieged.² But fortunately there are two such reliable English accounts—one by CAPT. HENRY OAKES, Adjutant General to the Army under the command of Gen. Matthews; and the other by LT. JOHN CHARLES SHEEN, who was in the same force.³

We shall give here first the detailed account of the event as narrated in the *Memoirs of the Sultan*, and, secondly, the English version, as found in the *Narrative of Capt. Oakes* and the letter of Lt. Sheen.

Before the actual siege is described, we may begin with a short account of the events preceding it.

A short time after Hyder's death (7th Dec., 1782), the Bombay Government sent an order, dated 31st Dec., 1782, to Brigadier General Matthews to "make an immediate push to take possession of Bednore."⁴ The advance of Gen. Matthews and his movements till he took possession of the fort and town of Bednore, have been described by Wilks and Beveridge. The so-called easy capture of Bednore by the English general may be told in a few words. Ayāzkhān, a great favourite of Hyder Ali, had been appointed by the latter to govern the country of *Nuggur* (Bednore), *Kuriāl Bandar* (Mangalore), etc. This Ayāzkhān,

The English
occupation of
Bednore.

1 Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (Second ed., 1869), vol. II, pp. 59 ff.

2 Wilks, vol. II, p. 60.

3 An Authentic Narrative of the treatment of the English who were taken prisoners on the reduction of Bednore by Tippoo Saib, from April 1783 to April 1784. By Capt. Henry Oakes, Adjutant General to the Army under the command of Gen. Matthews on that expedition. With an appendix relative to the conduct of the British forces upon their first becoming masters of that place, by Lt. John Charles Sheen, of the First Battalion of Sepoys. Published in London, 1785.

4 Quoted in Wilks' *Mysore*, vol. II, p. 53; in H. Beveridge's *Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 516.

on the approach of the English army, treacherously delivered up the fort and town of Bednore to Gen. Matthews. Such was the English general's conquest of Bednore, which was effected without any bloodshed¹—it was accomplished, to quote the expression of Gen. Matthews in his official despatch, by "*the divine will*."² This was followed soon by the surrender of some other places and forts, including the fort of *Kuriāl*, which passed similarly into the hands of the English general through the treachery of the same Ayāzkhān.³

A scramble for plunder appears to have followed the English occupation of Bednore. Both Ayāzkhān and Gen. Matthews were anxious to obtain all they could. This appears clear from the evidence of the *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū Sultān* and the letter of Lt. Sheen. The latter gives the following account: Ayāz "took care to secure his own private property"; but from the treasury of the Sultan's government, he put Gen. Matthews "in possession of 30 lakhs of pagodas,⁴ with a great quantity of diamonds and other precious stones", a "part of which" was actually seen by Lt. Sheen. The English general "afterwards secreted" this treasure, and "sent" it "by his brother. to Bombay."

1 Mīr Hussain 'Alī Khān Kirmanī's *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū Sultān* (trans. by Col. Miles), p. 9; Lt. Sheen's Letter, in the Appendix to the *Narrative of Capt. Henry Oakes*, pp. 73-74.

2 Quoted in Wilks, vol. II, p. 55; Beveridge, vol. II, p. 517.

3 *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū Sultān* (Persian text), pp. 260-61. (Col. Miles' *Eng. trans.*, p. 8.)

4 30 lakhs of *pagodas* would be roughly equivalent to 120 *lakhs* of rupees current at the time. A *pagoda*, generally current in the territories of Mysore (*Sultani pagoda* coined by Tipu; or *Bahaduri pagoda*, coined by Hyder; or *Swāmi pagoda*, coined by a Mysore Raja—all of a general standard), usually passed for Rupees 4 (current at the time). A *Sultani* rupee was generally equivalent in value to 1s.—11.05d., as found current by Buchanan during the time of his visit (1800-1801). A Company rupee was nearly equal to the former in weight and value—equivalent to 1s. 10.84d., as found by Buchanan. [*Historical and Political View of the Deccan* (published anonymously in 1798—the author, as known to the contemporary English writers, was James Grant), pp. 9, 30, 45; Moor's *Narrative of the operations of Capt. Little's Detachment* (pub. in 1794), p. 471; Buchanan's *Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (pub. in 1807), vol. I, pp. 128-29, vol. III, p. 315.]

Unfortunately, however, the general's brother "fell into the hands of the Nabob [Tipu] who beheaded him." The English army was "yet uninformed", wrote Lt. Sheen, "whether the treasure" had "arrived at Bombay."¹

The Sultan did not lose any time after he had heard the news of the English occupation of Bednore and other places. He marched with a huge army, which according to the statement of Lt. Sheen, consisted of two hundred thousand men. This is, no doubt, a greatly exaggerated estimate, as is apparent from what we know of the approximate strength of the whole of Tipu Sultan's army, during the early part of his reign and in 1792-93.² A French battalion served as the "advanced guard" of the Sultan's army.³ At the news of the Sultan's advance, Ayāzkhān, fully aware of the consequences which would follow, fled from Bednore with a vast amount of wealth, and embarked for Bombay, accompanied by his followers.⁴ Several quick marches soon brought the Sultan before Bednore. He took the town immediately on his arrival, with almost as much ease as it had previously passed into the hands of the English.⁵

Wilks mentions that the English force under General Matthews consisted, at that time, of 400 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys. Beveridge has also accepted this.⁶ Lt. Sheen says that "the garrison with which General Matthews occupied the fort", "did not consist of more than 12 hundred men."⁷ According to some statements in the Sultan's *Memoirs*, it would appear, however, that the English force consisted of several thousands of men. Thus, it is stated in one place that on one of the siege-days, about 4 thousand soldiers came out of the fort to fight with the Sultan's force. Again, we find it definitely

1 *Narrative of Captain Oakes*, Appendix, p. 75.

2 *A Persian Account, written in 1790*, by an officer of Tipu's Government (English trans., in Asiatic Annual Register, vol. I); Sultan's *Military Rules and Regulations and Memoranda of 1793* (in Kirkpatrick's *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*, Appendix L).

3 Lt. Sheen's Letter (*Narrative of Captain Oakes*, Appendix, p. 81).

4 *Tārīkh-i-Tipū Sultān* (Eng. trans. by Col. Miles), p. 8.

5 Lt. Sheen's Letter (*Narrative of Captain Oakes*, Appendix, p. 81).

6 Wilks, vol. II, p. 58; Beveridge, vol. II, p. 518.

7 *Narrative of Captain Oakes*, Appendix, p. 82.

mentioned that after the capitulation of the fort, twelve thousand men belonging to the English force all surrendered their arms, including two thousand European soldiers ("Nazarenes").¹ And we may further remember that according to the Sultan's account, a large number of men on the English side had been killed during the siege.² Lt. Sheen also has stated that "great numbers" of their men "were killed and wounded".³ We have no doubt that these statements of the Sultan are exaggerated. One may, of course, doubt also the strict veracity of the English version.

After he had occupied the town, the Sultan laid siege to the fort of Bednore, into which the English force had retired. There are different versions of the duration of the siege. It is definitely stated in the Sultan's *Memoirs* that the siege lasted for 10 days, and on the 11th day, the English sued for terms.⁴ Captain Oakes has stated that it lasted for 17 days. And Lt. Sheen says that the cannonading of the Sultan's army "continued for 20 days".⁵ It is difficult to get the truth from these varying statements.

Capt. Oakes has not given any description of the actual siege. Lt. Sheen has also dealt with it very briefly. He says: "The plains, to the utmost distance we could see from the fort, were covered with the enemy's horse and foot; yet nothing was done till his [Sultan's] battering cannon arrived." "The Nabob quickly opened 13 batteries, which began playing upon us in every direction. The cannonading continued for 20 days, during which great numbers of our people were killed and wounded."⁶

We get an elaborate account of the siege operations in the Sultan's *Memoirs*, which is given below. I shall try to give a free translation of the original Persian text, putting the whole thing in indirect narration, and taking the little liberties of a translator where necessary. The passages within quotation marks are, more particularly, faithful translations of those in the original.

Description of
the siege, as
narrated in the
Sultan's
Memoirs.

1 *Memoirs of Tipu Sultan* (India office MS., Prof. Sarkar's photographic copy), pp. 2a, 4b, (*passim*). 2 *Passim*.

3 See the English version, to be dealt with later on.

4 *Memoirs of Tipu Sultan* (photographic copy), p. 3b (*passim*).

5 *Narrative of Captain Oakes*, p. 1; Lt. Sheen's letter in the Appendix, p. 82.

6 *Narrative of Captain Oakes*, Appendix, p. 82.

In the first page of the India Office MS., we find that a detailed account of the first day's operations is being continued. It may be given as follows :

[Page 1.] “* * * And forthwith there came a volley of shots” [from the English side]. This was answered instantly by counter shots from the two wings of the Sultan's army, one of which was composed of his French soldiers. The Sultan, who was a little way behind with the main army, “at a distance of 100 yards”, at once advanced and fell upon the English, and “gave hot chase to them.” About 60¹ English (or European) soldiers “were sent to hell”,² and “both of their guns” were captured. Four English officers were killed in the action. Then the English soldiers with their “unworthy chief”³ [meaning General Matthews] all “went inside the fort and opened fire.” The Sultan closes the first day's account by saying that on “the very day, about 30 English (or European) soldiers with 20 guns were captured.”

On the second day, the Sultan's army got possession of a big powder-magazine (*bārūt-khāna*) and a large store-house (*ambār-khāna*). [Page 2a.] The Sultan marched to the fort “with two thousand gallant soldiers.” At this stage, “about 4 thousand soldiers” belonging to the English side marched out of the fort, “through a secret path”, to “renew the struggle.” A fierce fight ensued between them and the “*Asad-Ilāhī* army” [meaning the Sultan's army].⁴ Both parties stopped firing and there began a hand-to-

1 The correct reading of the word in the MS. seems to be *shast* = 60. But it may also be read as *haft* = 7. [Prof. Sarkar's photographic copy, p. 1, 5th line.]

2 “*dākhil-i-jahannam shudand*.”

3 Or “worthless chief (or general).” The original Persian term “*nā-Sardār*” may be taken to signify this—a *Sardār*, or general, not worthy of that position.

4 The term *Asad-Ilāhī* lit. means, Divine Lion. *Asad*, a lion; and *Ilāhī*, divine. *Ahmadī* is adj. from *Ahmad*, one of the names of the Prophet Muhammad. *Ahmad* lit. means, one who is praised (from *hamd*, praise).

It may be mentioned that there were two special corps in Tipu's army called the *Asad-Ilāhī* corps and the *Ahmadī* corps, both of

hand fight, "with spears and swords." In the course of this struggle, "about two hundred" "useless" (*nā-bakār*)¹ soldiers belonging to the English side "were sent to hell"; and a few persons belonging to the "*Ahmadī* force"² [Sultan's army] also "fell martyres."³ The English "captured one wounded *Risāla-dār*"⁴ and "carried him away."

which were composed of converts to Islam. We may, in this connection, point out that there is no strong basis for Col. Kirkpatrick's supposition that Tipu's *Asad-Ilāhī* corps (Kirkpatrick puts it as "*Usud-Ilhy*") consisted purely of Hindu converts and the *Ahmadī* corps exclusively of Christian converts. [Official correspondence and other papers of Tipu's Government (Eng. trans.), published by Kirkpatrick (in 1811), under the title '*Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*', note, p. 178; other official letters (Eng. trans.) published by Kirkpatrick in *Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. XII, note on letter 44.] It would be erroneous to draw such a distinction between the two. [Official correspondence (Kirkpatrick's *Select Letters*, pp. 229, 236, 243, 256-57); *Tārīkh-i-Tipū Sultān* (Eng. trans., Miles), pp. 82, 83; *Memoirs of Tipu Sultan* (I.O.M.S.), p. 30a and b.] Here, however, these terms are used in a broad sense, with a general reference to the Sultan's army, without signifying those special corps. The terms, it may be further mentioned, were indeed used widely under Tipu's Government. They are found to be often used, in the official papers and in the Sultan's *Memoirs*, with reference to his Government—e.g., *Asad-Ilāhī Sarkār*, and *Ahmadī Sarkār*. By *Asad-Ilāhīs* and *Ahmadīs*, sometimes, simply new converts to Islam were meant. And we notice that even a ship was named an *Asad-Ilāhī* ship. [Official correspondence (Kirkpatrick); *Marine Regulations* (Kirkpatrick's *Select Letters*, appendix K); *Memoirs of Tipu Sultan*, etc.]

1 *ba-kār*, useful. *Nā-bakār*, useless, not serviceable—worthless.

2 See the f.n. 4, of the previous page 802.

3 "*Sharbat-i-shahādāt chashīdand*" = lit., drank from the cup of martyrdom (*shahādāt*).

4 *Risāla-dār*—Commander of a *Risāla*. The term *Risāla* (lit. army, troop) was applied to a particular sub-division in Tipu's army organization. A number of *Risālas* formed a *Qashūn*, which was compared by the contemporary English writers to a Brigade or Regiment of the English army. (Col. Kirkpatrick, Lt. Moor, Maj. Dirom, etc.). A *Risāla* was composed of a number of *Jawgs*, which were compared

On the third day, the Sultan "took out all the magazines and stores", and "placed them in a secure place."¹ The English, on that day, set fire to ten or twelve splendid buildings of the Third day, *Rājah*² and some other buildings [near the fort], and badly injured them by heavy bombardment.

[Page 2b.] On the fourth day, "all the space" "before the *dārul-imārat*³ and the *masjid* and near the fort" was "blocked up" (by the Sultan's artillery). After the "batteries were placed", Fourth day.

the Sultan renewed the bombardment of the fort "with many big guns." It is next stated that the English had been able to carry to the fort "about 50 thousand shot" and plenty of stores, while the Sultan's force had captured a vast number of shot (3 *lakhs*), a huge quantity of gun-powder (*bārūt*), and plenty of other stores and provisions belonging to them. These were placed in a high and secure place, where the Sultan's guns were planted. The Sultan next proceeds thus with the fourth day's account: The English opened fire from the fort; and when they were "exhausted", the Sultan's artillery began heavy bombardment—"about 4 thousand or 5 thousand shots" were fired from the batteries⁴ of the *Asad-Ilāhī* army.

[Page 3a.] The Sultan next writes that ceaseless firing from the *Asad-Ilāhīs* continued for "5 or 6 days." The "Nazarenes"⁵ (the

appropriately by Col. Kirkpatrick to the Companies of the English army. [*Official Correspondence* (Kirkpatrick); *Military Rules and Regulations and Memoranda of 1793* (Kirkpatrick's *Select letters*, App. L); *Fath-al-Mujāhidīn*, a military treatise of Tipu's Government (extracts in Kirkpatrick's *Select Letters*, App. I); *Persian account, written in 1790, by an officer of the Sultan's Government* (Eng. trans., published in *Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. I); *Tārīkh-i-Tipū Sultān*; *Memoirs of Tipū Sultān*.]

1 It appears that the Sultan's own magazines and stores were removed to a safer place for their protection against any possible danger from the enemy's attack.

2 Perhaps referring to the local *Rājah*, who had been the ruler of the place before Hyder's conquest. (?)

3 Perhaps it refers to Government House (Sultan's), where the Governor of the place resided.

4 The English word is used in the original, which is written in Persian character as *bātūrī* or *baterī*.

5 *Naṣārā*—Christians, Nazarenes (plu. of *Naṣrān*).

English) "fired what they could on the first day." "On the second day", "not even one cannon was fired" from their side, "because all inside the fort" had "lost courage" owing to the continuous cannonading of the enemy. The "unworthy general", Matthews¹, "kept aloof from the battle." Within the fort, "not one place was left uninjured by the shots of the *Asad-Ilāhīs*", and there was not a space unstained "by the blood of the Nazarenes."

Continued bombardment for 5 or 6 days.

When it was raining, on the 5th day, the "Nazarenes" made a sortie on the Sultan's battery in front of the fort. The English force, as directed by General Matthews, attacked the battery.

Fifth day. The "*Ahmadī* force" was, however, all along "on the alert"; and when the "Nazarene soldiers" "ascended" the raised ground where the guns were placed (*dar-mūrchāl*)² "from their hiding place", the Sultan's soldiers at once "attacked them with spears and swords." They "caught hold of" many "Nazarene" soldiers "by their legs", "dragged them and threw them down inside the entrenchment."³ The rest of them picked up "their wounded comrades" and "fled within the fort." [Page 3b.] The Sultan now advanced his batteries very close to the fort on different sides. "So many volleys were fired" from them, that the English force within the fort had "not the courage" to "get upon the rampart (*burj*)" or "approach near" the Sultan's guns. The "Nazarene" soldiers "thrice came out in large numbers and thrice fled" inside the fort "like so many mice (*mūsh*)."

"In this manner", the siege "lasted for 10 days", and "on the 11th day", the "Nazarenes sued for terms." "They sent" a draft of the peace terms (terms of capitulation), consisting of seven articles. These are next mentioned as follows⁴ :

1 Written in the MS. as *Mītus* or *Mītis* (*Metus* or *Metis*).

2 *Mūrchāl* (same as *Mūrcha*)—entrenchment for besieging a fortified place, a battery [*Steingass*], a raised ground for placing the guns. (Marathi form *Morchā*.)

The entrenchment system at that time was to make a raised ground for placing the guns thereupon, unlike the modern trench system.

3 I.e., inside the ditch created for making the raised ground to place the guns.

4 The Sultan says that these terms were sent by the English force. Lt. Sheen has also mentioned that General Matthews was "at length

1. That "when they come out of the fort", the "*Asad-Ilāhī* army" and the "*Sarkār's* [Sultan's] subjects" "may not spit upon their face", and "may not abuse them" or commit personal violence upon them.¹

2. That they would leave in the fort all the provisions they possessed and surrender all their guns, muskets and other weapons to the Sultan.²

3. That they would hand over all the "cash" and other "treasures", as also all other "stores" of the *Sarkār* [Sultan's government] which they might have with them.³ [Page 4a.] They further made, in this connection, the following declaration: If anything could be found with them, after being searched by the *Sarkār's* people, they might be treated as "offenders" and "be punished" by the *Sarkār's* men "as deemed proper."

4. That they should be "given" [passage] money for their march to the coast.⁴

obliged to send out a flag of truce" and "terms of capitulation", and that "the Nabob acceded to" these terms.

From a perusal of the terms as stated in the *Memoirs*, it would appear clear that the Sultan has given his own colouring to them. It is quite possible, of course, that to the original terms offered by the English, the Sultan made certain additions and alterations and put them in somewhat different form, before he finally acceded to them by attaching his seal and signature. And it appears likely that the terms as given in the *Memoirs*, have been stated in the latter form. This is perhaps the reason why we find some difference between these and the terms of capitulation as stated fully by Capt. Oakes, which we shall give later on.

1 The form in which the term has been put above, would show the Sultan's taste, or rather the taste of the time, when a vanquished army perhaps very often suffered from such barbarous insults. Compare the 1st term as stated by Capt. Oakes (see later issue).

2 See the capitulation terms as stated by Capt. Oakes, Nos. 1 and 3 (*ibid*).

3 Cf. the capitulation terms as stated by Capt. Oakes, No. 2, and Lt. Sheen's statement (*ibid*).

4 The English force stipulated that they should be allowed to march "unmolested" "to Sadashagur", from which place they would

5. That "a few ships"¹ [of the Sultan] should be "lent to them"; and that "provisions" should be supplied to them, after fixing their "proper price", which would be sent to the Sultan "after they reached their home" [Bombay].

6. That "as many of their soldiers" as the ships "could accommodate" should be allowed to sail, and the rest be freely allowed to go by the land route with their passage money.

7. That "two chiefs of the *Sarkār*" should be present with them at the time of their embarkation and sail with them [as hostages];² and [similarly] "two Nazarene chiefs" would also "remain with the *Sarkār*" [as hostages]. And that when the "*Sarkār's* chiefs" [the two hostages] would "safely return", the "Nazarene chiefs" should also "be allowed to come back safely."

[Page 4b.] The Sultan "accepted" the above terms. "Two copies" of these terms were drawn up, "one in Persian and the other in English", which were "properly signed and sealed." One of them was "kept with the *Sarkār*" and the other was handed over "to the Nazarenes" [English].

"In the morning" [of the 12th day], the English began preparations to leave the fort. They "opened" "all the stores and such other things of the *Sarkār*" and "handed them over" to the latter, and "the remaining things" they "distributed among their own people."

The English "Chief" [General Matthews], after he had come out of the fort, gave up his sword and surrendered. This being done, "about 2 thousand Nazarenes" [*i.e.*, European officers and soldiers] and other "10 thousand stout (or gallant) men of the army" (or gallant soldiers)³ "placed all their muskets" and other arms on the ground [*i.e.*, they completely surrendered all their arms to the Sultan].

"embark for Bombay." See the Capitulation terms stated by Capt. Oakes, no. 4 (*ibid*).

1 "*Chand Jahāzūt*."

2 Cf. Capitulation terms as stated by Capt. Oakes, No. 8 (see later issue).

3 "*Jawānūn-i-jaish*." *Jawānūn*—*lit.* means youths (plu. of *javwān*). *Jaish*, *lit.*, means, an army, soldiery. [*Steingass*.]

By this, the Sultan certainly means those other than the European officers and soldiers—*i. e.*, the Indian soldiers belonging to the English force, including perhaps also the camp followers.

"On the second day" [after the capitulation], General Matthews and other English officers were called [by the Sultan]¹ and asked whether they did abide by the terms which had been submitted (by them) on the previous day. They "all answered in one voice" in the affirmative. About 20 high officers (*umda*) and *Sardārs* of the Sultan went afterwards to the English officers, and asked them to give answer to the following charge against them. This was put to them in the following manner: "You have secretly taken away with you the captives of this country, dressed after your own fashion. You have carried away money on the *Sarkār's* oxen; and at the time of leaving the fort, you distributed among your own men the contents of the *Sarkār's* store-house.² What is the meaning of this?"³ The English officers replied that they "did not know anything" about the matter and that the Sultan's officers might "make enquiries." The officers of the Sultan, at this, warned them to require their men "not to violate" the terms, and asked them to "send to the *Sarkār*" "all the captives, money, *etc.*" which they might have carried with them. [Page 5b.] The English officers replied "again" that "they had not a single thing nor a single man" with them; and they "asked" the Sultan's officers "to make a searching enquiry" and "find out" if they could detect anything. The "*Asad-Ilāhī-Sardars*" [Sultan's officers] then took from them a written statement about the matter, after which "the cursed and unworthy"⁴ English "*Sardārs*" were "allowed to go."

(To be continued)

SURATI CHARAN SEN GUPTA

1 Captain Oakes has described how Gen. Matthews received a message from the Sultan to see him with some other English officers. He has mentioned the names of the officers who accompanied Gen. Matthews on this occasion and has described also what became their fate (see later issue).

2 The word in the MS. is *tūshak-khāna*, which *lit.* means, a wardrobe. [Steingass, Johnson.] There may be an error in the MS. The word meant here is perhaps *tūsha-khāna* (*tosha-khāna*)—meaning, store-house, treasury (also wardrobe). It appears, at any rate, clear that here store-house or treasury is meant.

3 A part of the above charges is substantially corroborated by the statement of Lt. Sheen (see later issue).

4 "*Nā-Sardārān-i-mal'ūn.*"

The Philosophy of Dharma (Law)

II

Application and Analysis

Vijñāneśvara drew a legitimate distinction between Ethics and Law proper in his commentary on Yājñavalkya.¹ And although this is the right procedure from the technical stand-point, the whole trend of Hindu legislation is to reinforce law with moral principles and ideals. The minute technique of codified law does not naturally concern itself with the question of sanctions so long as its demands are satisfied by what is ready to hand. Its application assumes primary importance. But in analysing law into its various expressions in society, reference to ethical principles becomes necessary and unavoidable ; for law is at last the moral judgment of the race as well as of the age. "Laws are chiefly important as giving definiteness and permanence to the best traditions of a people which must be engraven on their souls before they can have much *efficacy* on the statute books".² To find out the constituents of law, or those expressions of it, which are usually accepted unchallenged and unquestioned, it is pre-supposed that moral intuition, whatever be its metaphysical character and social vehicle, is at the back of the whole procedure as permanent basis and constant support.³ Its representation on the social and political planes is effected in various ways and that again according to the nature of circumstances. Thus it may be equated with **custom**, conduct, justice, duty and social good. These appear more or less important in proportion to their utility within the social structure and abstraction in social thought.

(a) The most common expression of law is in custom in every country of the world. Both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manu Saṃhitā* have emphasised its usefulness. The *Epic* says that dharma (law) rises from and resides in custom.⁴ Similarly *Manu* has declared :—

1 K. L. Sircar, Rules of Interpretation in Hindu Law, Lec. X, p. 116.

2 Mackenzie, Outlines of Social Phil., p. 97.

3 See Supra, Basis of Law, p.

4 Vana Parva, 149, Mokṣadharmā Parva, 259.

"Custom is the highest dharma dictated by śruti as well as smṛti. The sages having seen the way of dharma through custom have accepted it as the root of highest tapas."¹

But it is to be noted that the Epic raises an objection here which points to a different, perhaps an idealistic, interpretation which is in keeping with its philosophy. It definitely states "that custom alone cannot be dharma"² for "nowhere is found that custom which does good to all"³ or "which is not disregarded"⁴ somehow or other.

(b) That law can be interpreted as good conduct is seen in the dictum of Yājñavalkya, viz. "Dharma is Sadācāra," (good conduct)⁵ although Bālabhaṭṭa is inclined to accept it as merely "conduct of good men" making the compound a tat-puruṣa one instead of karma-dhāraya.⁶ In such a case it is equal to the famous proverb—"Mahājano yena gataḥ sa panthāḥ," i.e., that is the way by which good men have trod.⁷ The Mahābhārata has laid down that the objective of sadācāra is good to the self,⁸ and "ācāra is the container of dharma which is known through it."⁹ But it does not stop here; it shows a vicious circle in the argument. It says—"In the sacred books dharma is defined as the conduct of good men and good men are said to be those who follow dharma. This indication points out that dharma and good men are reciprocally dependent, therefore who is good and what is dharma cannot be proved from this"¹⁰ yet "what wise men establish as dharma is merely followed even today."¹¹ Further "what may suit a man in good conditions as dharma may not be so to one in danger."¹²

(c) Law as justice is on the whole an abstract conception and consequently involves the idea of duty. It is here, as among the Greeks, that Hindu ethical thought touches the root of the problem. Manus says in a straight way that "where righteousness is violated by unrighteousness and truth by falsehood.....there the whole (judicial) assembly is said to be destroyed" for "righteousness violated destroys (the world) but maintains it when it is itself preserved."¹³ Manus

1 Manusmṛiti, I, 101, 110.

2 Mokṣadharmaparva, 262.

3 Ibid., 260.

4 Ibid.

5 Yājñavalkya I, 7, S. C. Vidyaratna's ed., p. 13.

6 Bālabhaṭṭa's gloss, S. C. Vidyaratna's ed., p. 14.

7 Āpaddharmaparva, 132.

8 Anuśāsana Parva, 104.

9 Mokṣadharmaparva, 259.

10 Ibid., 260.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Manusmṛiti, VII, 14, 15.

answers the old question, what is justice, by saying that "it consists in the application of righteousness (dharma, law) to all cases arising between the members of the state."¹ Similarly the epic adds "equal consideration of all beings.....is (the) highest rule." For "that man who considers all beings like himself is sought by the gods together with his supreme position beyond the worlds."² "Equal protection of all who are liked or disliked constitutes dharma's self."³ Śukra has the pithy idea that this moral virtue "is useful in all cases and is a means to the preservation of human society."⁴ It is thus intimately connected with the state itself.

As usual with the Mahābhārata justice is opposed by the extreme egoism of Hobbesian and Nietzschean philosophy. This stratum of thought running parallel to the excellent idealism of the Epic mixes freely with the layer of clever sophistry like that of Greek philosophy. Says the Epic :

"Some powerful men have concluded, that "it is wrong to appropriate by force" is the rule of the weak. The rich too designate it the rule of poverty which is due to ill luck."⁵

"For the strong, all acts are according to dharma, all food is diet, all things are pure and personal."⁶

In an ideal of this type there can be absolutely no room for justice and fair-play. It is based on its psychological back-ground that "that appears to be good to which people are excessively attached."⁷

(d) The conception of duty (professional or otherwise) follows naturally from that of justice and hence it is equally related to society. It is justice applied particularly to personal cases that gives rise to duty. And this is "Sva-dharma" i.e. one's own duty. Consequently dharma as duty is the adverse of dharma as law."⁸ The Mahābhārata, Manu and Śukra have given full recognition to the principle of Svadharma to be the irreducible minimum measure of personal responsibility.⁹ The Gītā and Manu have emphasised Sva-dharma in the following lines—

1 Ibid., VIII, 3. Cf. Pol. Theo. & Inst. of Hindus, p. 210.

2 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 262, 259.

3 Śānti Parva, 121.

4 Śukra-Nīti, p. 2.

5 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 259.

6 Āśramavāsika Parva, 30.

7 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 184.

8 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of Hindus, p. 211.

9 Śānti Parva, 67; Manu Saṃhitā, VII, 21-24; Śukra Nīti, I, 45-51.

- (a) "One's own duty, however diffident, is superior to another's duty perfectly done. The duty of others is dangerous (to be performed by other) ; even death is preferable in performing one's duty."¹
- (b) "It is duty to do one's work though low, another's duty should not be undertaken. He is doomed (fallen) who takes to another's duty when able to discharge his own."²
- (c) "God is never so pleased as when one's own duty is properly discharged."³
- (d) "Another's dharma is to be renounced like the most beautiful wife of another person."⁴

The spirit of the verses quoted above is similar to Bradhy's dictum, "My own station and its duties."⁵ This is organically connected with the system of Varṇāśrama of the Hindu sociologists, also called Varṇāśrama-dharma. Plato also has the idea of functional differentiation and consequent duties in his Republic.⁶ Eucken speaks of a positivism of this type. "Positivism assigns to each single unit within a specified order a certain definite place and gives him a definite task to perform. While the individual man is engaged in the full development of his own personal powers, he is at the same time furthering the interests of the transcendent whole."⁷ Sva-dharma being the standard, the state was empowered to enforce it according to Manu, the Mahābhārata and Śukra—

- (a) "The king should not spare father, teacher, friend, mother, wife, son and priest, if any one of them does not keep to (his or her) own duty."⁸
- (b) "It is the duty of the king to establish the people in their own and respective duties by putting an awe-inspiring mien."⁹
- (c) "By the terrible use of the engine of sovereignty, he (the king) should maintain the subjects, each in his proper duty".

1 Gītā, III, 35.

2 Manu Samhitā, X, 97.

3 Hārta Samhitā, VI, 19.

4 Atri Samhitā I, 18.

5 Pol. Theo. & Inst. of Hindus, p. 211.

6 Sect. 415, Jowett's Trans.

7 Eucken, The Individual and Society, p. 33.

8 Manu Samhitā, VIII, 335.

9 Āpaddharma Parva, 143.

And "so himself being dutiful the king should appoint the subjects to their own duties".¹

- (d) "The king, who punishes them that renounce their own dharma or follow another's becomes glorified in the celestial region."²

But Epic sophistry raises the question that the conception of duty is very changeful. It asserts that "according to time, place, circumstances and persons, dharma becomes adharmā and adharmā becomes dharma."³ Hence dharma has to be rational, since the same act may at times be righteous and unrighteous.⁴ It is true, therefore, that the course of the world cannot go on by sticking to one aspect of dharma.⁵ Its essence must be determined by reason⁶ inasmuch as "the dharma of one in safety cannot be the dharma of one in danger".⁷ It is never constant, every new age creating its new dharma".⁸

The problem of the measure of duty—how much of it should be done under what circumstances and to whom—is met with here and needs some attention, duty will be a very vague and indefinite term after the criticisms advanced by the Epic. No standard can be fixed for a thing which is itself indeterminate. The reply is suggested by Yājñavalkya, though in a different context, and may be worked out through its implication; and then it is seen to be parallel to a certain extent to the interpretation of the ethical golden mean of Aristotle. On the basis of Yājñavalkya,⁹ Viṣṇuśekhara says in describing the "efficient cause of dharma" that of proper time, place, means, faith and person, "all or some of them must be taken according to occasion"¹⁰ The point is that these go to indicate the required measure.

- (e) Social good—abstract though the term is in the highest degree—is in its general and comprehensive interpretation what the Epic evidently understands as dharma or the essence of law, notwithstanding all its destructive sophistry in regard to other definitions. Yet it is not inclined to

1 Śukra-Nīti, pp. 12, 14.

2 Atri Saṃhitā, I, 17.

3 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 310; Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 88.

4 Āpaddharma Parva, 142.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 141.

7 Ibid., 130.

8 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 232.

9 Ibid., 6.

10 The Mitākṣarā, S. C. Vidyaratna's ed., p. 13.

narrow it down only to its social application. The main drift of its argument is that dharma is really "the good of all" and "is established for course of the world."¹ Again "it is very difficult to find out real dharma. (But it is certain) that "it has been created for the sake of the prosperity, salvation and removal of the troubles of men. Therefore that is true dharma through which people become progressive, free from difficulties and possessed of ultimate salvation."²

It agrees fully with the Vaiśeṣika definition that dharma is "abhyudaya-niḥśreyasa-siddhi," i.e., the realisation of both worldly and other-worldly good"³

Prof. Radhakrishnan says, "Dharma or righteousness is the stable condition which gives man perfect satisfaction. It helps him to gain salvation as well as happiness.....Dharma is relative and dependent on the condition of society. It has always a social implication. It is the bond which keeps society together. Dharma develops the solidarity of society. It aims at the welfare of all creation."⁴ Soma-deva Sūri has also defined dharma "as that which promotes the greatest good of society"⁵ Its social expressions are sympathy, doing good and non-injury to all.⁶

Further idealisation led the Epic to conclude that "dharma is the highest and the only good."⁷ Its character comprises all its many aspects, since after all "dharma is one."⁸ It is also "constant."⁹ Therefore all dharmas lead to "one state,"⁸ and any one dharma may lead to the eternal dharma.⁹ This is like the stoic doctrine of virtues, one virtue leading to others, and all are known when one is known. The unity of dharma, thus enunciated, connected ethics with politics and sociology in the Hindu philosophic thought of the time, and allowed religion to operate in spheres, where it is said to

1 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 262, 259.

2 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 109.

3 Vaiśeṣika Sūtra, I, I, 2 ; Hinduism, p. 73.

4 Ind. Phil. pp. 505-6.

5 Nītvākyaṃṛta, I, cited in Pub. Ad. in Anc. Ind., p. 275.

6 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 259 ; Anuśāsana Parva, 164.

7 Prajāgara 32 ; Anuśāsana Parva, 164, 150.

8 Anuśāsana Parva, 162.

9 Mokṣadharmā Parva, 293.

9 Ibid., 164.

10 Vana Parva, 149.

be out of place unfortunately according to the tendencies of the modern day infused probably by the new-born scientific spirit. In showing the nature of dharma the epic adds that "truth is naturally unqualified," i. e., it is abstract ; "it becomes dharma when it is qualified" in application.¹ "Law (proper, or political law) is that which spreads dharma."² For, after all "the whole world is established on dharma"³

Kinds, Proofs and Ways

The necessary ethical implications of law bring in a number of views, such as kinds, proofs and ways of dharma. Apparently these have nothing to do with law proper or political law, but their relation to social justice and duty is evident and clear. They come along with the instruments of interpretation used above and help the understanding of the moral side or implication of law.

Dharma is said to be of three kinds—vedic, smārta and customary⁴ being roughly the forms in which it was accepted generally by the legislators. Its proofs are also these—observation, the vedas, and practice.⁵ It is difficult to say what is exactly meant here. The ways to dharma are eight according to the epic, viz., yajña, study, charity, tapas, truth, forgiveness, self-control, uncovetousness.⁶ This compares favourably with the eight-fold path of Buddhism. It is called the Aryan eight-fold path discovered by the Tathāgata and is the first sermon on setting in motion the wheel of law, right belief, right speech, right aspiration, right conduct, right mode of livelihood, right effort, right-mindedness and right rapture.⁷ It is to be noted that there is a gulf of difference between the orthodox ethics of the epic and the heterodox psychology of the Buddha. He "did not declare open war against the ceremonialism of the time but tried to infuse moral significance into its forms and thus undermine it."⁸ No room is allowed by him to yajña, or tapas so important in the Hindu codes of law. Manu has

1 Anugītā Parva, 35.

2 Rājadharmā Parva, 121. Nārada (I, 40) places dharma below law—"Vyavahāro hi balavān dharmas tenāvahīyate."

3 Āpaddharma Parva, 167.

4 Baudhāyana, I, 1 ; Vasiṣṭha, I, 4-5 ; Anuśāsana Parva, 141.

5 Ibid., 162 ; Manu Saṁhitā, II, 12.

6 Āraṇyaka Parva, 2.

7 Ind. Phil., p. 420.

8 Ibid., p. 421.

ten signs of dharma—contentment, forgiveness, restraint, uncovetousness, purity, self-control, intelligence, self-knowledge, truth, calmness.¹ Manu seems to have added two items in advance of the epic. The *Mitākṣara* gives six topics of dharma, viz. the dharma of *Varṇa*, of *āśrama*, of *Varṇāśrama*, *guṇa-dharma*, *nimitta-dharma* and *sādhāraṇa dharma*.²

The following parabolic teaching is not without its lesson and truth in illustrating the many connections and ramifications of dharma. Such stories in the Epic are meant to carry home the message which in philosophic language would perhaps be too dry and unattractive. The importance of dharma in practical every-day life cannot be better stressed for the purpose of infusing righteousness and inculcating one of the deepest and most useful truths of moral and social philosophy. Dharma, character, truth, good work, strength and prosperity are figured here, each speaking out its own mind.—

- (a) Dharma—"I am dharma, I live where character is found."
- (b) Truth—"I am truth, I have to accompany dharma at all times."
- (c) Good Work—"I am good work, I stay wherever truth stays."
- (d) Strength—"I am strength, I too have to live with good work."
- (e) Prosperity—"I am prosperity, I have to follow strength."³

Dharma and Institutions.

Dharma as "the operative criticism of all institutions" runs in an undercurrent all through beneath Hindu political philosophy. It was the great theme in the back-ground of all their social and political thought, never lost to view or allowed to be compromised amidst the difficulties of practical problems and the demands of changing times. From the Vedas down to the *Śukra-Nīti*, it appears again and again reminding men of action and men of thought of the truth that underlies and upholds the complex expansive and diversified structure of society. They knew "all is gone when dharma is gone" and in the absence of standards and sanctions it would be simply chaos all around. References backwards and forwards to dharma rationally thought out

1 Manu *Samhitā*, VI, 92.

2 *Mitākṣarā*, S. C. Vidyāratna's ed., pp. 3, 4.

3 *Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva*, 124.

and at times partially realised meant for them that process of evaluation which like the oscillations of the compass showed the right directions and guided society towards the highest ideals. When Yudhiṣṭhira raised the question—"How can the service of dharma and the protection of the state be possible for a man" at one and the same time? For "the two are (evidently) contradictory"¹—he was in fact judging the state on the criterion of righteousness by bringing the two concepts together. If the great epic has "an inner chronology" of its own, according to Jhering's well-known phrase, this point ushers in the whole social, political and moral philosophy of the Śānti Parva and the following didactic portions. A critical estimate of the state in relation to and in the light of dharma was wanted by the monarch who never did wrong.

The application of the standard of dharma or righteousness to individuals, society and the state was the natural procedure. Their evaluation disclosed the object of their existence and their value itself increased or decreased with the assimilation and embodiment of dharma in them. A judgment of value was passed on them from the criterion of dharma. This ruling conception supplied permanence and value to all institutions and oriented them towards perfection. "All that raises human nature to a higher pitch, all that enables it to reach out to a fuller life, all that which produces harmony of work between the dualism of human nature yoking the horse of egoism to the car of altruism is dharma."² "Dharma can establish heaven on earth."³ The question is how this can be done and hence the whole scale, from the individual to the state, needs to be attuned to dharma.

To start with the individual, it is evident that social good cannot be possible without the proper discharge of personal duties. This principle is Svadharma—one's own—and is the minimum demanded from society. The state enforced it in favour of society, since "man secures happiness in both the worlds by doing his own duty." "Man does take up good, middling and bad works through the force of time." But "he, who gives up his own duty and takes up another's, turns his whole work into adharma."⁴ And "through the power of politics (Kṣātra-dharma) all can be well ordered."⁵ Svadharma must also

1 See above.

3 Ibid.

2 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 62.

4 Ibid., 65.

5 Ibid.

be inter-connected with other duties—everybody's duty being related to other peoples' duties within the social whole. "Dharma is nursed by the Brāhmaṇa's work" and "the world gains dharma through the help of the Śūdra, Vaiśya and Kṣatriya. If the above Varnas do not adopt peace (orderliness) they can never have the grace of God."¹

Speaking of people in general it was pronounced that "men advance or deteriorate—this is the law of the world."² The process of decay has to be arrested in order to ensure progress and such advancement depends on righteousness for "dharma is victory."³ "Through dharma's power people become pure-hearted and free from sin."⁴ "They can according to their actions reach light and truth, i.e. heaven, or darkness and untruth, i.e., hell."⁵ "Through good and bad works are seen evolution (rise and fall)"⁶ It is only their own choice, for every one has great possibilities. "Within the human body there are both death and immortality"⁷ "as well as virtue and sin, though they are opposed to each other."⁸ This finite-infinite nature of man proves that he is designed for the very highest stature and end. And there is the constant assurance that "no dharma goes in vain."⁹

For such a great assumption the problem naturally came to be the reconciliation of dharma with the social structure and its embodiment in the perfect machinery of social well-being. It practically included the whole of society together with other moral implications. The social orders are meant to help this process of spiritual culture and they are themselves said to be permeated with this noble purpose. "God is at the steps of the (four) āśramas."¹⁰ Man can see Him as he enters in. "By climbing the stairs man can attain the region of the gods; whether a student, a householder, a dweller of the forest, an ascetic, one can reach the very highest stage by living according to Śāstras, (i.e. dharma)."¹¹ Indeed "all the four āśramas are established for the preservation of dharma"¹² and "the fruit of life in the āśramas is salvation itself."¹³ These stages of life were instrumental to the

1 Ibid., 63, 65.

2 Mokṣadharma Parva, 224.

4 Ibid.

6 Udyoga Parva, 45.

8 Ibid., 201.

10 Mokṣadharma Parva, 242.

12 Ibid., 194.

3 Anuśāsana Parva, 164.

5 Mokṣadharma Parva, 191.

7 Mokṣadharma Parva, 277.

9 Ibid., 353.

11 Ibid.

13 Ibid., 288.

highest human growth, step after step, towards the full realisation of dharma which "is the chief means to salvation."¹ The state as the centre of society sees that everything is all right with these orders.

The greatest of all institutions, the state, is not an exception to the criticism and rule of dharma. Anarchy was imagined to be the condition when none cared for dharma and hence "dharma disappeared completely."² In case of good and effective government "dharma spreads everywhere."³ This connection between good government and dharma runs throughout the Hindu political thought. It was categorically expressed by saying that "the king and dharma are reciprocally protective"⁴ and "it is dharma.....which preserves the kingdom."⁵ It is further emphasised in the passages quoted below :

"The king is created for protecting dharma.....(which) takes the shelter of kings. The king is made like the very self of dharma. To advance dharma to the best of ability is the duty of the king. When dharma is increased, the people increase, and when dharma disappears, the people also go down. It is never good to let dharma down. Evils are removed through the power of dharma.....(for) dharma was created for the birth and growth of beings. Therefore for the good of the people the king ought to protect dharma. He is truly king in whom dharma is ever present."⁶

This is nothing but a judgment of the State represented by the king. But it does not end here, stretching, as it does, beyond the immediate concerns of government. Even the ages are, spoken of as politically conditioned from the point of view of general culture. Politics is the barometer of national culture, indicating its true level and pressure. How true it is even to-day in the East as well as in the West of democracy and empire, of peace and war. The ancients perhaps knew this better than the way in which it is understood in the modern time. The Epic adds,—

"If the king is misled, the sacred fire, the Vedas, the sacrificial rites, and the four social orders and the four varnas would disappear and when the king goes wrong, elephants, horses, camels, cows, mules and asses all become weak." "The king being unrighteous, deformed, dumb and imbecile men come into being".....and

1 Āpaddharma Parva, 147.

2 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 59.

3 Ibid., 69.

4 Vana Parva, 30.

5 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 92.

6 Ibid., 90.

so do untimely winter and untimely summer, excessive rain, want of rain and many other dangers.”¹

Hence the king was called “the maker of the age”, illustrating the close connection between politics and culture. This idea occurs in the Epic and the Śukra-nīti as well as in the Manu Saṃhitā. The Mahābhārata designates the king “the very likeness of the Yuga.” The prosperity and culture of the time is determined by the king’s character :

“Through the behaviour of kings, the four yugas—Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali—take their birth. The king is the very likeness of the yuga.”²

“The prince is the cause of time (i. e. the maker of his age) and of good and evil practices. It is the king who is the cause of the origin of the good and evil of the world.”³

“The Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali ages are merely the efforts of the king, who is therefore called yuga or age.”⁴

Yuga Dharma

This is a general statement of the king’s position so far as the cyclic periods are concerned. His agency sets them in motion or gives birth to them. It is a figurative way of practically measuring the goodness or badness of ages which are politically caused to a good extent. The political conditions show how far righteousness has been operating in society.

Again, the four cycles or ages mentioned above had their own standards, and cyclic righteousness varied accordingly. In other words, the quality and quantity of righteousness determined the character of the ages. In the opinion of the Epic,

“The first yuga is Satya ; in this yuga dharma.....has four legs (or parts)” i.e. stands full. “In the second or the Tretā yuga dharma loses one leg,” i.e., is only three-fourths. “In the Dvāpara yuga dharma loses two legs or is only half. Then in the Kali yuga dharma has only one leg,” i.e., is only one-fourth.”⁵

The political exposition of cyclic dharma or righteousness gives the following result. It is nothing but a typical application to politics

1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 90, 91.

2 Ibid., 91.

3 Śukra-Nīti, pp. 11, 259.

4 Manu Saṃhitā, IX, 301.

5 Vana Parva, 158.

of the principles noted above, all the points of comparison being parallel.

"You need not be doubtful as to whether the king is the cause of time or time the cause of the king. The king is certainly the cause of time. For when he governs well and fully according to *daṇḍanīti* (political science), it is Satya yuga. Not even a bit of unrighteousness can come in at this time and dharma is full and complete everywhere. When the king governs with three elements of the science of politics unrighteousness sets one foot in. This is the Tretā yuga. When quite half of political ethics is left out, and the king governs only by the other half, it is called the Dvāpara yuga. Unrighteousness sets two feet in (at this time). Political ethics being giving up altogether, the king may trouble the subjects in many ways, then it is the Kali yuga. In this yuga the practice of dharma disappears altogether."¹

The cyclic order is an old conception of the Hindus and time is divided into four ages from the creation of the world to the final destruction of it. Dharma is its substratum, since the loss of dharma means the end of time in its worldly manifestation. It is a different question with eternal time which is sometimes identified with God. Its relation to politics and society is a logical nexus, inasmuch as the expression of dharma is in social and political forms, i.e., in society and politics.

From the standpoint of the king it is stated that different rewards await him in after-life in proportion to the success and value of his government. Full heavenly bliss is for the king who gives rise to the Satya yuga.² This is because the king is considered to be in short "the root of dharma (righteousness)."³ And God Himself is said to have different colours in different yugas according to the degrees of righteousness contained in them. It is a disguised suggestion of the theory of values in relation to the actions of man. Says the Epic,—

"First is the Satya yuga.....Nārāyaṇa (God) is white (in it). In the Tretā yuga Nārāyaṇa becomes red.....in Dvāpara Nārāyaṇa is yellow and in the darkness-prevailing Kali yuga Nārāyaṇa becomes black." Also—"I (Nārāyaṇa) become white in Satya yuga, yellow in Tretā, red in Dvāpara and black in Kali."⁴

1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 70.

3 Vana Parva, 4.

2 Ibid.

4 Vana Parva, 148, 188.

Dharma as culture thus stands closely and necessarily related to politics "which keeps the whole world in order just as reins do the horses."¹ The doctrine of dharma in its entirety imparts to the state the character of an institution for the advancement of culture. Herein the Hindu theory meets Aristotle's conception of the state as means to the furtherance of the highest good of man.² Its relation to danḍa is for the purpose of coercion from this standpoint; both the doctrines are correlated. Danḍa and dharma are the two poles of the state, "the two faces of the political Janus, one looking to the failures, the other to the triumphs."³ If danḍa is the authority of the state, dharma is its ideal. Danḍa enforces duties, while dharma as duty is but the obverse of dharma as law. Therefore "the doctrine of duty is identical with that of law turned inside out."⁴ Even property is designed for dharma⁵ and its relation to the state is not merely that of adjustment, for the state itself expresses the spirit of dharma as it exists at the time. In reality, it is conceived of as "a vale of soul-making" in the language of Keats, a training ground for men, which in Hindu phraseology would be equal to a dharma-producing machinery or institution, securing even the ultimate salvation of all.⁶

Above politics and human laws, the Hindus saw another plane of divine perfection, authoritative and watchful, supporting the world where man plays his many parts. Dharma, expressing the total value of these parts, charges from time to time according to their nature. But when utter confusion sets in undoing the very destiny of man, divine power moves to mend it or end it. This is the conception of the Gītā in relation to the cyclic righteousness. God Himself re-establishes righteousness after it has been overwhelmed and destroyed by man. Incarnations of the deity are necessitated by such climaxes of human degradation and sin. The incarnate god of the Gita says,—

"Whenever righteousness is overthrown and unrighteousness prevails, then I create myself. To save the righteous and to destroy the wicked and (thus) to re-establish righteousness, I am born in every

1 Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, 65.

2 Pol. Theo. and Inst. of the Hindus, pp. 211-212.

3 Ibid., 210.

4 Ibid., 211.

5 See Sec. on the Rise of Property.

6 See *supra*, Origin of the State.

age. I am above birth and death and lord over all, yet I incarnate myself with the help of my own nature and through my own māyā.”¹

The Individual and the Four Ages

The doctrine of the four ages is also applied to the individual on the basis of a text in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which runs thus—

“Kaliḥ śayāno bhavati sañjihānas tu Dvāparaḥ
Uttiṣṭhaṃs Tretā bhavati Kṛtaṃ sampadyate caran.”

Svami Vivekananda in his endeavour to infuse spirit into the nation drew attention to this verse. His object was to rouse the people to spiritual activity. His own comment is given below :

“For the foolish the Kali era is constant ; his era comes from outside. He who is on the path to freedom has nothing to do with Dvāpara, Tretā and Kali, for he begins to build for himself his own era, the Satya. He who lies down lazily, has the Kali age attached to him. He who wakes and sits up has Dvāpara. He who has stood erect has Tretā. And he who starts for the journey of emancipation creates the Satya age as he goes on.”²

It is to be noticed that the last five lines of Vivekananda's comment are the literal translation of the Sanskrit original quoted above. Keith's translation in the Harvard Oriental Series also yields the same meaning though verbally a little different³ and without the positive religious turn given to it by the word “emancipation.” Plainly and clearly the implication is that it is man's creative activity in private life as much in public life, which are again intimately connected together at last, that determines the character of his time. This is as true of politics as of society in general where individuals have to act and in most cases take the lead. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa further has these introductory lines for the purpose of explaining its own meaning,—

“The future of him who sitteth also sitteth,
But that of him, who standeth, standeth erect,
That of him, who reclineth, lieth down,
The future of him, that moveth, shall move indeed.”⁴

1 Gītā, V (a free translation is given here).

2 VII, iii.

3 Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 25, p. 302.

4 Ibid.

Reading the two extracts together and joining up their imports their remains no doubt as to the importance of ethical activity on the part of the individual in respect of the civilisation of the time. It is like the power of points in an electrical field and the individual as such in social life can exercise simultaneously great and potent influence for his own good and that of society in general.

The position of the king as the individual head of the state and the maker of his age has already been dealt with in the preceding pages,¹ and that of the private individual is seen to be no less important. If society and dharma (civilisation) are to be improved the individual must be in every case the centre of moral idealism and dynamical. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa points out this dynamical personality for the regenerating activities. Schweitzer has remarked in the same strain but in modern terms that—

“The individual personality must be looked to as the agent in a new movementcivilisation can only revive when there shall come into being in individuals a new tone of mind (independent of the one prevalent among the crowd and even in opposition to it) a tone of mind which will gradually win influence over the collective one and in the end determine its character. It is only an ethical element.....and the ethical comes into existence only in individuals.”²

What Schweitzer means by “the ethical element” is the dharma of the Hindu sacred books, which again is the very kernel of the golden age according to the ancients of both the East and the West. This determining factor has been thrown upon personal initiative and responsibility on the basis of pure psychological analysis and the experience of the race. It is very strikingly illustrated in the case of all great men who left their marks in the world. Emerson truly said, “God lets out a great man when He desires to move the world.”³ Here too the personal element is emphasised in order to characterise the age and the world. The ultimate problem of the progress of civilisation, indicated through the proportion of righteousness or ethical quality depending upon the individuals composing society and the nature of leadership, turns upon the fact of the contribution made by the com-

1 See above.

2 Decay and Restoration of Civilisation, p. 73.

3 Representative Men, p. 47.

ponent parts that in the end again necessarily resolves into the character of persons going to form the whole.

The conception of dharma, whether seen from the subjective or the objective point of view, is an element in the life of the individual and the community. It is true that "from the subjective standpoint it is considered not merely as a function of the mind (Sāṅkhya school) but also as a determination of the substantive self (Nyāya school) resulting from the purity of intention ; from the objective standpoint it is considered not merely as external Śāstrika prescription (Bhāṭṭa school) but also as *apūrva* which is the essence of duty as an accomplished verity of the moral order (Prabhākara school).¹ Nothing can take away its philosophical value in all Hindu systems. On the other hand its progressive realisation is the object of the normal will conceived as a rational good for all. And goodness prevails only through the fruition of impulse to harmony accomplished in the time-process. This effort is the creator of gods and men, of beautiful fictions and what is noble in fact, of law and morals, of science and art, perhaps what is beautiful in nature, certainly of the significance of that beauty to us. Its operation is intelligent and purposive and all-embracing." The ideal in order to be effective must be progressive, dynamic and creative, its reality being step after step, value after value, raised to the very ultimate.

J. N. C. GANGULY

1 Maitra, *Ethics of the Hindus*, p. 237.

2 Hobhouse, *Rational Good*, p. 159.

Artistic Interest in Post-Aśokan Sculpture

There is a good deal of controversy regarding the origin of Aśokan Art and the existence of the lithic sculpture in India before the age of Aśoka.¹ But whatever be the origin of this art, and whether stone as a plastic material did or did not exist in this country before Aśoka's accession to the throne, there can be no denying that it was to the impetus given by this monarch that the Indian plastic art owes the credit it enjoyed later on, though the school of art with which his name is associated declined with his death and finally died away. With the decline of this school another school got up in its place, which we shall call the Post-Aśokan school instead of the Śuṅga school, as some writers would have it. Our reason is that the Śuṅgas had practically nothing to do with the development of this art. It flourished under monastic patronage though lay people often contributed towards the cost of the monuments. It is our purpose here to enter into a brief discussion of this art, and to trace the gradual change of artistic interest during the two centuries preceding the Christian era during which the Post-Aśokan art flourished.

In order to trace this change we shall follow the sequential order of the different monuments established by Sir John Marshall² and supported by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda.³ These two scholars have investigated this question of sequence on independent lines and have arrived at conclusions which are substantially the same.

The earliest of these monuments is the railing of Stūpa II of Sanchi. This railing is an important monument for the study of the early history of Indian Art inasmuch as it enables us to catch the string

1 The finds of Mohen-jo-daro have conclusively proved the existence of stone sculpture long before the advent of the Mauryas. But no connection has yet been made out between Mohen-jo-daro and Aśokan sculptures and there is no evidence to show that the Mohen-jo-daro sculpture did live up to the time of Aśoka.

2 C. H. I., vol. I, chap. xxvi.

3 Dates of Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpas of Sanchi (M.A.S.I., No. 1, 1919).

that connects the sculpture on this railing with a previously existing school about which we at the present day can only guess.

The most striking thing about this railing is the beautiful scrolls on some of the upright members of the structure. These scrolls are so beautiful and so bold in design that we cannot but admit that the artists of this railing had behind them the experience of a fairly long period of time extending over several generations. Vigorous floral creepers are the subject matter of these schools. The creeper is almost moving as in life. The flowers and sprouts shoot out of the stalk impatient with the spirit that is in them. There are the exuberance of life, the vigour of youth, the buoyancy of spirit. In short, it is a brilliant masterpiece of floral decoration. This is one side of the picture. The other side is sadly disappointing.

As we enter into the region of the living we are taken aback at the crudeness of the figures, all the more so, because in comparison with the floral designs which represent a developed stage of art culture, these figures are more or less primitive. The heart of the artist yearns for expression. But the stone would not respond to that yearning. He produces forms. He thinks, he takes them from Nature. But they are in reality but mockery of Nature. Though he is a bit well off in the delineation of lower animals, in the case of human figures he is a failure. He cannot rise above primitiveness.

Besides these there are the Triratna, Dharmacakra and other symbols which are represented sometimes as being worshipped. No image of the Buddha is there, nor is there any attempt at representation of Jātakas or any other story, which is the characteristic of the later age. Only symbols are worshipped, and it will be interesting to study how the mentality behind such representations changes.

The next monument is that of Barhut. Here the vegetable decoration has manifestly lost much ground, though it still has an important place on the whole. The outer side of the Coping-stone is adorned with a brilliant frieze of lotuses. The inner side is divided into panels by an undulating floral stalk. There are the lotus medallions and half-medallions of the previous monuments. There are creepers with flowers on them supporting a woman or a bird or some other being. And some of these do, of course, speak of a good artistic conception on the part of the sculptor. But the naturalism of the former designs of plant life is not to be found at Barhut. It has not those brilliant scrolls; the lotus medallions are often weaker in comparison with the specimens on the older monument; the undulating stalk

bears most absurd things. Instead of flowers we see ladies' ornaments such as necklaces, earrings, and with them jack-fruits, mangoes, *triratna* symbols and various other things hanging from the stalk. Conception of the artist regarding vegetable decoration had undergone a decided change for the worse, and plant life which was so long predominant has now begun to be superseded by intruders, human, sub-human and superhuman. The attention of the artist has shifted to the new favourites and the older one has suffered in consequence. The result has been that human figures have improved, but signs of deterioration have set in upon the other side of the decoration.

There has been a change in the outlook in connection with the animate world itself. Formerly men and animals were introduced simply as supplying motifs for decoration. But at Barhut they have an additional purpose in view, namely, that of edification. The artist has begun to represent stories on stone. Naturally the whole world has to participate in it and in this participation the inanimate world, for obvious reasons, has to subordinate itself to the animate world. The latter is the chief actor. The former only supplies the field for the action.

These stories are all connected with the last as well as previous births of the Buddha. But the important thing about them is that the stories in connection with former births is vastly preponderating over those connected with the life of Siddhārtha. Another very remarkable feature is, as is well known, that the place of the main actor, Gautama, is always kept vacant. Various explanations have been put forward to explain this curious feature ; but the real explanation seems to lie in a dialogue in the *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta*¹ wherein the Buddha says :

"Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathāgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānanda, in your own behalf. Devote yourselves to your own good. There are wise men, Ānanda, among the nobles, among the Brahmins, among the heads of the houses, who are firm believers in the Tathāgata ; they will do due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata."

This might have led the Saṅgha not to portray and honour the figure of the Buddha, for that might "hinder" them from their "own good."

At Bodh-Gaya we find that the floral side of the decoration deteriorated further. The lotus medallions that have come down to the level of mere conventionals are puerile, and worthless imitations of Barhut and Sanchi. The brilliant frieze on the coping stone of Barhut has been imitated to some extent, but it is dull, dead and commonplace. The scroll which was the pride of Sanchi Stūpa II is altogether absent from Bodh-Gaya. But human and animal figures have improved a good deal and their claim to predominance has been practically established. In fact where a floral decoration was expected in the coping-stone, we find an animal frieze has occupied the place. Bodh-Gaya has not much of story-telling and we do not propose to draw any inference from that.

With the gateways of Sanchi the story is the same, namely, that of supersession of the inanimate by the animate. The race is decided. The latter has completely subdued the former and man has taken the supreme place. The stories represented are chiefly life-stories of Gautama, though there are some connected with his previous births as well and some connected with Aśoka.

In one respect plant life have regained much of the ground it lost in the preceding period. In the representation of the foliage the artists have begun to take lessons from Nature. But the freedom of the earlier artists is wanting and the floral scrolls which adorn the pillars of the gateways are lacking in the spontaneity of the previous scroll-works and, what is more interesting, they occupy those faces of the pillars which least attract the attention.

Thus we see the change. From plant-life the interest of the artist gradually moves towards animal life and towards man and to the Buddha. On the railing of Stūpa II of Sanchi only symbols were represented, at Barhut the Jātaka stories, i.e., those connected with previous births of the Buddha were utilised ; on the Sanchi gateways the artists were concerned with the life-stories of Gautama, nay, more than once they represented the seven Buddhas by symbols, independently of their connection with any story, and put them on the highest architraves of the *toranas*. The tendency at this time was then towards the realisation of the Buddha figure in art. The artist was moving towards that goal. He felt a strong inclination to exalt and lionise the Master. The inclination worked on and before long the plastic representation of the Buddha was realised in sculpture. But it was not given to the sculptors of this school to take credit of this introduction. When the time came, Sanchi had already lost her importance

as a centre of art culture probably for political reasons. As a matter of fact she ceased to produce works of art and had to meet her requirements by importations from Mathura, as later remains go to show. After Sanchi Mathura became the important centre of Indian art and it is from this place that we get the earliest indigenous image of the Buddha.

That the pictorial art was a new thing with these artists is evident from the system of continuous representation. The artist could not catch at the main action and every action had to be represented in detail. The titlings also prove the same thing. The people could not follow these stories, unless they were explained to them by means of titles. But gradually they grew acquainted with the system and when the Bodh-Gaya railings were constructed, the titlings were dropped.

It may be noted here that we have had to do only with art as it existed in the monastic circle. We are absolutely in the dark as to how it fared in the hands of the lay members of the society. The injunction against honouring the remains of Buddha was meant for the Saṃgha people. The lay people were immune from its scope. On the contrary it is distinctly stated that the latter would come to pay their homage to the holy remains and we know that they did it. This seems to be of some significance.

We now come to the problem of predominance of the floral decoration in the earlier monuments of the Post-Aśokan art. How the change of outlook interfered with this feature of the decoration will be sufficiently manifest from a comparison of a scroll of early workmanship with the one on the outer face of the right pillar of the West Gateway of Stūpa I of Sanchi. The latter is composed mainly of lions set back to back instead of creepers and flowers as before. Sir John Marshall¹ has explained this question of the predominance of the foliage by arguing that it is due to the Indian artist's "innate aptitude for the handling of ornamental and particularly of floral patterns." That this "innate aptitude" was not always equally strong we have already seen. Granting that the Indian has always possessed this aptitude, the question still remains open as to how in ornamental designs a high degree of excellence could be attained by artists who could not rise above the level of memory-images in the treatment of living forms. The explanation is to be sought elsewhere. An analysis of the earlier sculptures will bring to the surface that the sculptor there was quite proficient

1 Guide to Sanchi, p. 139.

in the art of designing, but in that of chiselling he was but a neophyte. This can be explained only in one way, namely, that the artist had a living tradition to guide him in the matter of floral designs and that his predecessors were not much accustomed to the portrayal of human figures. These predecessors were probably used to brush and pigment instead of the chisel which was a new tool in the hands of the Post-Aśokan artists. That the walls of the cells of the monasteries were decorated with floral paintings and not with human figures is proved by a passage in the Cullavagga (VI, 3, 2) in the Vinayapīṭaka in which the Buddha says :

"You are not, O Bhikkhus, to have imaginative drawings painted—figures of men and figures of women. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of dukkata. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, representations of wreaths and creepers and bone-hooks and cupboards."

The rules with respect to the Bhikkhus are stricter. They are forbidden by the 41st Pācittiya of the Bhikkhu-Vibhaṅga even to see such paintings.

Here then we get the explanations of the spirit in the earlier works of Post-Aśokan art.

N. K. TARAFDAR

The Early Adventures of Guru Govind Singh

II

III. THE BATTLE OF NADAUN

As we have said before, after the victory of Bhangani the Guru did not remain at Paunta but came to Kahlur where he founded the village of Anandpur. Many days passed and the Guru 'fostered the faithful and rooted out all the wicked'.¹ Those who had kept themselves away from the field of Bhangani were driven out of the place, and the Guru thus seems to have busily engaged himself in putting his house in order. He was now apparently living on friendly terms with Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur and the occasion soon came when the Guru was called upon to give a positive demonstration of his friendship.

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, viii. 38.

Dr. Narang states that the battle of Bhangani made a great impression upon the Rajas and they now began to regard the Guru's propaganda with the seriousness it deserved. The Rajas hastened to make an offensive and defensive alliance with him, and, supported by the Guru, at once took up the course of passive resistance and refused to send up their yearly tribute to the imperial exchequer. An army was sent against the Rajas by the Government to realise the arrears and 'a bloody battle was fought near Nadaun in which the Rajas, with the help of the Khalsa, inflicted a severe defeat on the imperial troops'.¹ But it must be pointed out here that there is no evidence for such a general statement. The Khalsa had not yet come into existence² and the battle of Nadaun was not won by the united effort of the Hill Rajas, backed up by the forces of the Guru. The account given in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* is rather involved, and it often becomes difficult to understand to which party a particular Raja belonged, but it is certain that at least Raja Kripal of Kangra and Raja Dayal of Bijharwal fought on the side of the Muhammadan general, and there is no suggestion anywhere that the defection of the Rajas had any connection with the Guru's victory at Bhangani.

The Guru's account begins rather abruptly. He says, "Many days passed in this way till Miyan Khan went to Jammu and sent Alif Khan to Nadaun. Immediately quarrel broke out with Bhim Chand. The Raja called me to assist him in the struggle and I joined his side."³ Miyan Khan thus seems to have been entrusted with a specific mission, and while he himself went to Jammu to settle accounts with the trans-Ravi principalities, he sent his lieutenant Alif Khan eastwards with the object of bringing the Kangra Hill States under subjection. This is confirmed by the *Gur Bilas*,⁴ and it thus appears that during the Emperor's continued absence in the Deccan great administrative irregularities arose in the Punjab and the Hill Rajas took advantage of the situation in withholding payment of tribute. During the so-called Pathan period these Rajas continued to maintain, more or less, practical independence of the

1 Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, pp. 90, 91.

2 I have sought to establish this point in my paper on the *Vicitra Nāṭak* (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1925).

3 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix. 1, 2.

4 *Gur Bilas*, vii. 30, 31.

Delhi Government, but 'with the advent of Mughal ascendancy they were compelled to bow to a foreign yoke.' Kangra was conquered by Akbar and soon afterwards the other principalities of the western hills came directly under his control. The fort of Kangra was garrisoned by imperial troops under a Mughal Faujdar. Next, Todar Mal 'annexed a large portion of the Kangra Valley and made a similar demand on each of the other States proportionate to their means.' The Emperor's Finance Minister is said to have 'taken the meat and left the bone, i.e., the fertile tracts were all annexed and the Rajas were left only the bare hills. 'To ensure the fidelity of the Hill Rajas, Akbar adopted the policy of retaining as hostages at his court a prince from each of the states, and we learn that in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there were 22 young princes from the Punjab Hills in attendance on the Emperor'. Since the conquest by Akbar the Hill chiefs were tributary to the Empire and it seems that they were liberally treated. 'They were left much to themselves in the government of their principalities and were allowed to exercise the functions and wield the power of independent sovereigns.' In spite of one or two isolated instances of rebellion, the Hill Rajas, on the whole, seem to have continued in friendship with the Imperial Court, 'as is proved by the letters and valuable presents received from the emperors and still in the possession of many of the old royal families.' On the whole, the Mughal rule sat very lightly on the Rajas, and 'some of the chiefs, too, gained a high place in the imperial favour and were given *mansab* or military rank in the Mughal army and advanced to important offices in the administration.'¹ The inducement must have been very great for these people to rise in rebellion against the Government and it seems hardly likely that the Guru's propaganda was the only or the sole cause of it, particularly as the disaffection seems to have spread even among the states of the Dogra Circle on the western side of the Ravi. As Macauliffe suggests² it therefore appears more probable that a general laxity in the administration encouraged the Hill Rajas to stop payment of tribute, though there cannot be any doubt that the

1 See the admirable article on the "Mian", a superior class of Hill Rajputs, by Dr. J. Hutchison of the Chamba Mission (*Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, vol. iii).

2 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 51.

Guru played a very important part in the later developments, as we find that the first expedition sent by Dilawar Khan and possibly also the second were directed specifically against him.

The Sikh records state that Alif Khan, in the first instance, addressed himself to Raja Kripal of Kangra. The latter submitted readily and also perhaps persuaded Raja Dayal of Bijharwal to pay tribute to Alif Khan. Kripal then suggested to Alif Khan that 'Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur was the greatest of all the allied Hill chiefs. Were he first to pay tribute, all the rest would follow his example, and then there would be no necessity for warfare.' Acting on this suggestion Alif Khan sent an envoy to Bhim Chand, but the latter refused to pay tribute and prepared for war.¹

Raja Kripal possibly did not exaggerate when he said that Bhim Chand was the greatest of all the allied chiefs. Even when a mere boy of fourteen, he successfully defended his throne against a powerful pretender over whom he gained a signal victory, 'the first of a brilliant series of successes in the field of arms.' He afterwards defeated the Rajas of Bashahr, Mandi and Kotkhai,² and it is, therefore, just in the fitness of things that we should find him at the head of the allied combination against Alif Khan, though the crowning achievement of his life was yet to come. From the Guru's account we learn that the combination included, besides Bhim Chand and the Guru himself, Raja Sukhdev of Jassrot, Prithi Chand of Dadhwar, and two other powerful chiefs, named Ram Singh and Raj Singh.³ Bhim Chand did not wait to be attacked but immediately advanced to give

1 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 51-52; *Gur Bilas*, vii, 31-37.

2 *Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilaspore*, p. 6.

3 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix. 3-4. The Guru does not tell us where from Raj Singh and Ram Singh came. This Ram Singh was very probably the same person whom we find in alliance with Raja Gopal of Guler on the occasion of Hussian Khan's expedition. The *Gur Bilas* and the *Suraj Prakāś* state that he was the Raja of Jaswal, while, according to Macauliffe, the Raja of Jaswal, no doubt, assisted Bhim Chand on the occasion, but his name was Keshari Chand (*Gur Bilas*, vii, 43; T. Banerjee, *Life of Guru Govind Singh* in Bengali p. 74; Macauliffe, vol. v, pp. 51-52). However, all our records tell us that Raja Gopal, in his struggle against Hussain Khan, had only one powerful chief as his ally, whose name, according to the Guru,

battle to Alif Khan, who had taken his position near Nadaun,¹ a petty town on the left bank of the Beas, 20 miles south-east of Kangra town. The Muhammadan general, together with Raja Kripal of Katoch and Raja Dayal of Bijharwal, 'was encamped on an eminence and had, therefore, superiority of position.'² The Guru's description of the battle is rather confused and it is not easy to understand the various phases and the developments. It seems that the action commenced with an attack on Kripal Chand but it was driven back, and then Bhim Chand organised another offensive on a bigger scale. All the allied chiefs, as well as the Guru, were called upon to participate in the attack, Bhim Chand himself leading, 'invoking the name of Hanumān in his mouth.'³ Kripal fought with great determination and bravery and 'exhibited the true virtues of a Rajput.'⁴ But the allies fought desperately and soon the troops of Katoch were surrounded on all sides. The peoples of the tribes of Nanglu, Panglu, Jaswal and Guler advanced in order, but Raja Dayal of Bijharwal defended mightily,⁵ and the position was momentarily relieved. At

was Ram Singh. The Guru also informs us that on the side of Raja Gopal of Guler, the Raja of Jaswal fought with great determination (*Vicitra Nāṭak*, xi, 33). Ram Singh, therefore, was none other than the Raja of Jaswal and it seems that Macauliffe is wrong. (See also *Gur Bilas*, vii, 90). But the accounts that we possess are so involved and confused that it is unsafe to hazard any definite opinion.

1 *Kangra District Gazetteer*, p. 258. In later days it became 'a favourite residence of Raja Sansar Chand, who built himself a palace at Amtar, on the river bank, one mile from the town, where he held his court during summer.'

2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix, 2. 3 *Ibid.*, ix, 6. 4 *Ibid.*, ix, 8-14.

5 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix, 16. Thus it appears that Guler also supported Bhim Chand. This is confirmed by the *Gur Bilas* (vii, 41). The Nanglu is 'a sept of Rajputs, descended from Chuha Mian, son of Sangar Chand, 16th Raja of Kahlur' (*Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, vol iii, p. 156). Possibly the Panglu also is another Rajput sept of this nature. It seems to us that in this particular instance the Guru is referring to the clans of Jaswal and Guleria and not to the States of those names. Jaswal and Guleria form two of the six principal Katoch clans and gave their names to the states of those names.

this stage the Guru himself entered into the fray, and his own part in the battle he thus describes—"Then this insignificant creature took up his gun and aimed at one of the Rajas. The Raja reeled and fell upon the ground, so unerringly was the shot directed, but even then the angry chief thundered. I then threw off the gun and took up my arrows in my hand. I drew out four and discharged all of them. Then again I took three others and discharged them with my left hand, (though) whether they struck anybody or not, I do not know. Then the Almighty God hastened the end of the fight and the enemy were driven out into the river."¹ Alif Khan fled precipitately and Bhim Chand and his allies were completely victorious.

The Guru states that after the victory he encamped on the side of the river and remained there for eight days. He visited the palaces of the various Rajas and then took his leave. The Rajas proceeded in the other direction to negotiate peace. The two parties came to terms and the Guru, on his part, returned to Anandpur after having plundered the village of Alsun on his way.² We are thus introduced to two very interesting questions, viz., the reconciliation between the two parties and the plunder of the village of Alsun. The later Sikh records tell us nothing about the first and therefore we are left to mere guess-work. Whether Alif Khan also was a party in the negotiations or merely the Hill chiefs of the two sides came to an understanding among themselves, it is difficult to say. Very soon afterwards we find that Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore gave up his attitude of defiance, and it is significant that Raja Gopal of Guler and his ally Ram Singh, who subsequently distinguished themselves in their struggle against Hussain Khan, were at first willing to come to terms by the payment of tribute. It may not be improbable that inspite of their initial success at Nadaun the Rajas became convinced of the futility of prolonging the struggle and came to an understanding among themselves that they would make their submission, though, as we shall see later on, the demands of the Government proved too much for the resources of some of the Hill chiefs, and the excesses of the Muhammadan general, Hussain Khan, compelled them to continue the desperate game of defiance. In that case we would perhaps be justified in regarding the plunder of Alsun as an act of retaliation on the part of the Guru, for he might very well regard the

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix, 17-19.

2 *Ibid.*, ix, 22-24.

understanding referred to above as a desertion of himself. Macauliffe says that the village of Alsun was situated within the territories of Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore, but he gives a somewhat garbled version of the plunder. We are told that the inhabitants refused to sell supplies to the Guru's troops and at last the Guru was compelled to order his followers that supplies be forcibly taken at current rates.¹ As far as we are aware, there is no authority for this statement and the evidence of the *Vicitra Nāṭak*,² the *Gur Bilas*³ and the *Panth Prakāś*⁴ leaves little doubt that the entire village was looted.

IV. THE EXPEDITIONS OF DILAWAR KHAN

The Guru had thus openly joined the standard of rebellion and inextricably compromised himself in the eyes of the Government. The position thus became somewhat curious. Some of the Rajas had stopped payment of tribute, and when the Government sent an army to enforce its demands, the Rajas took up arms and asked the Guru to help them, which he did. A brilliant victory for the allies followed, but still the Rajas determined to abandon their position and very probably came to an understanding among themselves that they would make their submission. This is, perhaps, the only way in which we can possibly interpret the Guru's words about the treaty, already referred to.⁵ We need not be surprised, therefore, that the next expedition was sent specifically against the Guru himself and it shows clearly that the Guru had been playing a very important part in this affair, though we find it difficult to believe that his propaganda and encouragement were the sole or even the primary cause of the widespread disaffection of the Rajas, both of the Dogra and the Jullundhar Circles.⁶

1 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 54.

2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix, 24.

3 *Gur Bilas*, vii, 70.

4 *Panth Prakāś*, xxiv, 7.

5 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, ix, 23. The Guru says, 'Then I took leave of the Rajas and returned home and they proceeded in the other direction to negotiate reconciliation. The two parties came to terms and therefore the story ends.'

6 'It is a popular saying that between the Sutlej and the Chenab there are twenty-two principalities, eleven on either side of the Ravi.' The cluster of states between the Chenab and the Ravi is termed the Dogra circle, while that between the Ravi and the Sutlej is known

The Guru informs us that after the battle of Nadaun many days passed during which he was again engaged in hunting out the apostates.¹ But he was not allowed to remain long in this manner, and Dilawar Khan sent his son against him. It is difficult to say who this Dilawar Khan was. The Guru himself gives us no hint and there is no unanimity among the other Sikh records. The Suraj Prakāś makes him the governor of Kashmir² while the Panth Prakāś³ says that he was the viceroy of Lahore. Bhai Sukha Singh⁴ merely states that he was a Mussalman chief and Macauliffe⁵ is of opinion that he was a semi-independent local chieftain, 'who had attained power in the Punjab during the insurrections which arose while Aurangzib was employed in the Dakhan.' We do not know on what grounds Macauliffe states that Dilawar Khan was a semi-independent local chieftain. To us it seems more probable that he was a Government official. A close study of the Vicitra Nāṭak clearly reveals the fact that these expeditions form, as it were, so many links in a single chain. It has been seen that Miyan Khan had been, in the first instance, entrusted with the task of subduing the Hill Rajas and he had sent Alif Khan eastwards while he himself proceeded towards Jammu. Alif Khan failed and next came the son of Dilawar Khan. He, too, returned without achieving anything and then followed the expeditions under Hussain Khan and Jujhar Singh, two of the generals of Dilawar Khan. These also were defeated and killed and when the news of these repeated disasters reached Aurangzib, he became very angry and sent one of his own sons to the Punjab to set matters right. Thus it is clear that a regular and systematic campaign was being carried on against the Hill Rajas and it is very probable that it was

as the Jullundhar circle (*Kangra District Gazetteer*, p. 24). We have already seen that Jasrota of the Dogra circle actually assisted Bhim Chand at the battle of Nadaun and the fact that Miyan Khan himself went towards Jammu leaves little room for doubt that the rebellion was widespread.

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, x, 1.

2 T. Banerjee, *Ibid.*, p. 174.

3 *Panth Prakāś*, xxiv, 8.

4 *Gur Bilas*, vii, 75.

5 Macauliffe, *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 55. Dr. Narang, on the other hand, states that Dilawar Khan was the Governor of Kangra (*Narang, Ibid.*, p. 91.)

engineered either by the viceroy of Lahore or by the viceroy of Kashmir.

Whatever that might be, we find that the son of Dilawar Khan made an attack upon the Guru, but to no purpose. His object seems to have been to surprise Anandpur and, with that end in view, he assembled his troops at about midnight and prepared for attack.¹ When the Muhammadan army reached the bank of the river, the Guru was awakened by an attendant named Alam² and immediately the sound of alarm was raised. The Guru's soldiers hastily armed themselves. But, in the meantime, the Khanzadu's army gave up the struggle even before it was actually commenced. The Guru says, "The river wore a dreadful appearance and the soldiers suffered terribly from cold. From this side my heroes thundered and the bloody Khans fled with their weapons unused."³ Dr. Narang says that it was mainly owing to rain and the consequent overflowing of a neighbouring ravine that the Khanzadu had to beat a hasty retreat and we are told that "the grateful Sikhs up to this day call the ravine by the name of *Himayati Nulla* or the helpful brook."⁴ Thus the expedition of the Khanzadu signally failed and the Guru informs us that the Muhammadans then vented their wrath on the poor people of Barwa and finally established themselves at Bhallan.⁵ We have not been able to identify these places, but Bhallan seems to have been a place of some strategic importance. It appears from the Guru's account that with the disastrous end of Hussain Khan's expedition, which followed that of the Khanzadu, Bhallan slipped away into the hands of the Rajas. Jujhar Singh recaptured it on behalf of Dilawar Khan but was immediately attacked by Gaj Singh. Bhallan witnessed the battle that followed and the Muhammadan party was again driven out.⁶

This discomfiture of the Khanzadu served only to strengthen the resolution of Dilawar Khan who immediately sent his slave-general Hussain Khan with a stronger army to retrieve the disaster. The subsequent developments make the initial aim of this expedition somewhat obscure, but, as we have hinted before, it seems that in this instance, too, the objective was the Guru's stronghold at Anandpur. The Guru says that if Hussain had met Raja Gopal of Guler two

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, x, 2.

3 *Ibid.*, x, 6.

5 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, x, 9.

2 *Ibid.*, x, 3.

4 Narang, *Ibid.*, p. 91.

6 *Ibid.*, xii, 2.

days later, he would certainly have advanced upon Anandpur, but fortunately Destiny 'had thrown the apple of discord amidst them'.¹ Thus it seems probable that Hussain was unexpectedly diverted from the main object of his expedition and the failure of his negotiations with Raja Gopal of Guler saved the Guru from what might very well have been a disaster for him.

At first Hussain Khan carried all before him. The Raja of Dadhwal was brought completely under control and his sons were made prisoners. Next, Hussain thoroughly looted the Dun, nobody being able to withstand him. Food grains were taken by force and then distributed among his own followers. It appears that he was soon joined by Raja Kripal of Katoch and Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspore and his depredations continued. Soon after Raja Gopal of Guler, together with a powerful chief named Ram Singh, came to meet Hussain, 'who felt extremely flattered and became blind in his vanity. He did not even condescend to notice them and 'with the Rajas of Katoch and Kahlur at his side, he thought that he was peerless in this world'. However, Raja Gopal of Guler and Ram Singh offered him the money that they had brought with them, but the amount fell short of the expectations of Hussain Khan and the offer was rejected. Thereupon the two chiefs left Hussain's camp and retired to their own places.²

Hussain Khan took this as an unpardonable affront, and he became so very angry that he did not pause to consider the question of ways and means but at once ordered the beating of the drum for advance. It appears that Raja Gopal and his men were soon afterwards besieged by Hussain Khan's troops. The investment lasted for 45 hours and at last Raja Gopal had to yield to the clamour of his own men, who had been suffering terribly from want of food and drink. A messenger was sent to Hussain Khan for the purpose of making peace but the slave-general remained as obdurate as ever. 'Either give me ten thousand rupees immediately or take death upon your head', said he. The Guru had, in the meantime, sent a follower of his named Sangatia, possibly to assist Raja Gopal in his difficulties, and it was mainly through his good offices that the Guleria chief could be persuaded to go over to the enemy's camp under solemn assurances of personal safety. But the negotiations again broke down and

1 *Vicitra Nātak*, xi. 5.

2 *Ibid.*, xi. 2-9.

then Raja Kripal thought within himself—"Such an opportunity will never come again; time, in its circle, deceives everybody. Gopal must immediately be disposed of, either he must be made a prisoner or be killed." But before this evil design could be carried out Raja Gopal got scent of what was going on and fled to his own men. No other alternative was now left but open trial of strength."¹

And the battle that followed was the bloodiest of the series. Raja Gopal and his ally fought with the courage of desperation and, as it often happens in such cases, they gained a complete victory inspite of innumerable difficulties. The extreme eagerness of Raja Gopal to come to terms with Hussain clearly shows that he did not think himself equal to the contest but when all attempts at compromise failed, he adopted the counsel of despair and prepared for the worst. The Guru's account of the battle seems hopelessly confused and it would be useless to attempt a narrative. It appears that besides the Rajas of Kangra and Kahlur, Hussain was assisted by three of his officers named Himmat, Kimmat and Jalal Khan and possibly also by a warrior named Hari Singh,² of whose identity we know nothing. On the side of Raja Gopal fought Sangatia, Ram Singh and the Raja of Jaswal³ and, as we have seen before, the last two were very probably identical. Of the persons who played a prominent part in the affair, one other remains, viz., the Raja of Chandel⁴ but from the Guru's account it is difficult to determine the party to which he belonged and unfortunately the other Sikh records are silent about him.

The battle seems to have raged with great vehemence and considering the scale of the operations, it must be said that the carnage, that was wrought, was appalling. Hussian Khan's defeat was decisive and complete, the leader himself being killed together with Raja Kripal of Kangra.⁵ Himmat also shared the same fate. The Guru states that when the battle was over and the Muhammadan party had left the field, Raja Gopal and his ally gave their attention to the wounded and the dead. Among these they found Himmat, and Ram Singh thus spoke to Raja Gopal—"That Himmat, who has been the root of all these quarrels, has now fallen wounded in our hands." When Gopal heard this, he immediately killed Himmat and did not allow

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xi, 10-15.

3 *Ibid.*, xi, 33.

5 *Ibid.* xi, 52, 65.

2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xi, 31, 32, 54.

4 *Ibid.*, xi, 56.

him to get up alive.¹ What happened to Kimmat and Jalal Khan is not very clear. On the side of Gopal the Guru's emissary named Sangatia was killed with his companions,² but the other leaders were all safe.

Thus the expedition of Hussian Khan, which had begun prosperously, ended in complete disaster, and it seems that for this the rashness of the general was primarily responsible. The Guru tells us that Hussian Khan had thrown all tactical considerations to the winds.³ In his blind fury and vanity he became reckless and the price he had to pay was terribly high. The Guru was thus saved from a contingency which might easily prove calamitous and he had every reason to be grateful to the Lord, 'who saved him by decreeing the din of battle elsewhere.'⁴ But all was not over yet. Dilwar Khan made still another attempt to retrieve the situation. It seems probable that Raja Gopal's victory had again put heart into the rebellion and the success was followed up by the capture of Bhallan, where the son of Dilwar Khan had entrenched himself after the failure of his expedition against the Guru. The first act of Jujhar Singh, who was now sent by Dilwar Khan, was to recapture Bhallan;⁵ but before he could consolidate his position, he was attacked by Gaj Singh with all his troops and again a bloody battle followed. Again the Muhammadan party was routed, both Jujhar Singh and his ally Chandan Rai being killed in the fray.⁶ The rebellion of the Rajas thus seemed justified by success but the final story still remains to be told.

1 *Ibid.*, xi, 67, 68.

2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xi, 57.

4 *Ibid.*, xi, 69.

3 *Ibid.*, xi, 10

5 *Ibid.*, xii, 2.

6 *Ibid.*, xii, 10, 12. From the Guru's account it appears that on the side of Jujhar Singh fought the Raja of Chandel, (xii, 4, 5). We are told soon afterwards that when Chandan Rai died, Jujhar alone continued the fight. It may not be improbable, therefore, as Bhai Bishan Singh thinks (*Ibid.*, p. 162), that Chandan Rai himself was the Raja of Chandel. It must be noticed, however, that Gaji Chand of Chandel had assisted Fateh Shah at the battle of Bhangani and if Chandan Rai, too, was the Raja of Chandel, Gaji Chand must have died in the meantime. But we must point out that in the names of the Hill Rajas we always find a good deal of similarity among those belonging to the same family and the names of Gaji Chand and

V THE ADVENT OF THE SHAHZADA

When the news of these repeated disasters reached Aurangzib he clearly realised that something drastic had become absolutely necessary and accordingly sent one of his own sons to restore order in the Punjab Hills.¹ The Prince took up his position at Lahore and sent an officer named Mirza Beg Mughal to reduce the hill tracts. Now began a war of vengeance and the Guru tells us that the first to suffer were those faint-hearted disbelievers, who had been seized with a panic at the approach of the Prince and, having unceremoniously left the Guru's protection, took shelter in the hills with all their treasurers.² These were mercilessly plundered and those that escaped Mirza Beg Khan were more cruelly dealt with by the four other relentless officers who succeeded him. But as we have pointed out elsewhere, the Guru's main object in introducing this topic in the *Vicitra Nāṭak* seems to have been to read a lesson on apostasy, and we are left entirely in the dark as regards the details of the operations that were carried out under the orders of the Prince in order to bring the Hill Rajas under submission. The other Sikh records also do not help us much, but one or two facts stand out clearly enough. It seems certain that the Guru was touched very little by the operations of the Prince and that the rebellion of the Rajas was completely crushed. Dr. Narang says that "the Rajas were taught a severe lesson by Mirza Beg, the imperial general. He inflicted upon them defeat after defeat, gave up their country to plunder, set fire to villages, took hundreds of prisoners, and in order to make

Chandan Rai are so very dissimilar that a doubt is naturally raised. It seems to us that later copyists introduced some confusion in the Guru's record. We are told that the hero of the other side was Gaj Singh and with him fought the Raja of Jaswar. Bhai Bishan Singh identifies the two but that is hardly acceptable. Whether there has been some confusion between Gaji Chand and Gaj Singh, or between Gaj Singh and Raj Singh, the powerful chief, who together with Ram Singh and others assisted Bhim Chand at Nadaun, it is difficult to say; but it may be said that the Guru's account seems confused and we are practically helpless because the other Sikh records entirely ignore the incident of Jujhar Singh.

1 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xiii, 1.

2 *Ibid.*, xiii, 2-4.

a lesson of them had them shaved clean, and their faces blackened, seated them on donkeys and made an exhibition of them throughout the disturbed area."¹ We, however, find it difficult to accept these details, though there cannot possibly be any doubt that the Rajas were taught a severe lesson on this occasion. Dr. Narang does not quote any authority for his statements and as far as we are aware, the only record that lends him a somewhat dubious support is the *Vicitra Nāṭak*. The Guru describes how the deserters were ruthlessly punished by Mirza Beg and his successors,² but there occurs nothing in the verses in question that would entitle us to connect the Hill Rajas themselves with those deserters, though some of their subjects might have been associated with the latter. Moreover, as Dr. Narang himself points out, the Guru's object seems to have been to preach 'a homily on loyalty to one's spiritual guide,'³ and therefore we need not take his words as historically true, especially as he adopts the traditional Indian way of describing the shame and ignominy of a merciless punishment. But with regard to the other question, viz., the escape of the Guru from the general disaster that must have overtaken the Hill Rajas, the story given in the *Gur Bilas* may perhaps be accepted.⁴ We are told that a Khatri of Delhi, named Nand Chand, who possessed some influence with the Prince, successfully pleaded on the Guru's behalf and thus it was that although the Guru had played a very prominent part throughout the rebellion, he was left unmolested, while all the rigours of Mirza Beg Khan and his successors fell upon the unfortunate Hill Rajas.

This ends the story of Guru Govind Singh's earlier adventures. His career, we think, may very conveniently be divided into two distinct periods, during each of which he seems to have been guided by somewhat different motives. The convening of the great assembly at Keshgarh in 1699 and the institution of the ceremony of initiation by *pahul* may, for this purpose, be regarded as the diverging point and the two periods may thus be characterised as the pre-Khalsa and the post-Khalsa periods. The difference between the two lies mainly in the fact that during the pre-Khalsa period, which we have just discussed, the Guru's object seems to have been to enter gradually into the fraternity of the Hill Rajas and establish himself as one of their equals. He completely identified himself with the cause of these chieftains

1 Narang, *Ibid.*, p. 92.

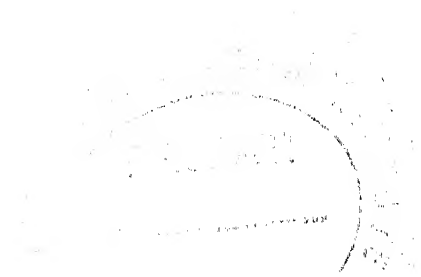
3 Narang, *Ibid.*, p. 96. f.n.

2 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, xiii.

4 *Gur Bilas*, xvi, 171, 172.

when they rose in rebellion against the Government, and the fact that he introduced his reforms so late in his career, seems to show that he was at first disinclined to widen the breach between himself and the Rajas by advocating radical innovations, both social and religious. But, as we have seen, the differences between the Guru and the Hill Rajas were fundamental and no lasting alliance between them was possible. When the rebellion of the Rajas was finally crushed and they returned to their allegiance to the Mughal Government, the Guru had perforce to give up the policy that had hitherto guided him and his mind became finally prepared for those reforms which brought the Khalsa into existence.

INDU BHUSAN BANERJI



MISCELLANY

Fourth Oriental Conference

On the 5th of November 1926, precisely at noon the fourth session of the All-India Oriental Conference commenced its sittings at Allahabad in the spacious and beautiful hall of the University Senate House. There was a distinguished gathering of delegates and visitors, among the former being included not only representatives from all Indian provinces but one even from distant Ceylon. Though some disappointment was caused by the absence of the head of the province from the meeting, the scene was sufficiently impressive, not to say brilliant. The audience presented the spectacle of kaleidoscopic variety usual on such occasions; the venerable and patriarchal figure of the president as he sat on the dais in his spotlessly white garment could not fail to attract conspicuous attention; the smart and enthusiastic body of volunteers clad in the khaki uniform of the University training corps commanded universal approval, while a sprinkling of ladies lent a touch of colour and beauty to the scene. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, who worthily filled the office of Chairman of the Reception Committee, opened the proceedings in a felicitous speech in the course of which he referred to the historic and sacred associations of the great city in which the conference had met. This was followed by the formal election of Shams-ul-ulema Dr. J. J. Modi to the presidential chair. Next the president rose to deliver his short address which was remarkable for the polished style in which it was clothed. Beginning with a graceful reference to his predecessors in the chair, he took a brief retrospect of the progress of Oriental studies from the times of Sir William Jones and Darmesteter; then he passed on to envisage their future and commended in this connection the projected publication of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata to the favourable notice of his countrymen and finally he concluded by urging the need for cultivating a broad outlook in scholarship not bounded by the limits of India alone. On the second and the third days of the meeting the Conference broke up in the forenoon into different sections for the reading of papers. A happy sign of the times is that this year there were as many as eight sections, classified as, Literary (sic.), Philosophy, Philology, Anthropology and Sociology,

History and Archæology, Arabic and Persian, Hindi, and Urdu. The choice of the sectional presidents on the present occasion happily left no room for unfavourable comment. Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri, Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppaswamy Shastri, Rao Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, and Dr. Alfred Woolner were among those who were selected for this high honour. The organisers of the conference had made a new departure this year by asking in the interests of the economy of time for synopses of papers beforehand and distributing printed copies of the same at the actual sitting. This experiment, it must be confessed, was viewed with some misgivings by many of the delegates. But happily these doubts were dissipated by the way in which the sectional presidents freely exercised their discretion to allow the contributors of papers to speak by way of supplementing the meagre outline of their analysis. The largest number of papers naturally enough was presented to the Literary (43+13) and Archæological (31+1) sections. The discussions which followed the reading of papers at the different sections were often lively and fruitful. A notable visitor was Dr. Franklin Edgerton, Professor of Sanskrit at the Yale University of America, who read two papers on the Pañcatantra in the Literary section. In the Archæological section an animated discussion took place in connection with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's paper on the slow progress of the Islamic power in India, the Professor's contention that the success of the Moslem invaders was largely due to accident being received with a storm of criticism. As on previous occasions, there were presented a few papers which served as a comic relief to the rest. One gentleman undertook, for example, to prove the authenticity of the Puranic cosmography from the evidence of modern geology. Another gentleman undertook with great learning to bring the figures of the Indian Asura Maya, the Avestan Ahura Mazda and the Mayas of Yucatan into mutual relation and tried in the light of a Puranic legend to explain the diffusion of races. Apart from the reading of papers, the conference carried out a most important task in fixing the future constitution of this body, the scheme being threshed out after a series of lively and at times heated discussions during the afternoons of the three days of the meeting. The usual entertainments were not forgotten by the organisers of the conference in the midst of the hurry and the pressure of work. On the night of the 5th November an enjoyable musical performance was arranged in the beautiful Vizianagram Hall of the Muir College. On the 6th the guests were treated to a rare luxury

in the shape of a Śāstrārtha followed by a Mushaira in the orthodox style. On the 7th a garden party was arranged at the spacious quadrangle of the Muir College and on the same night the Sanskrit play of the Veṇīsaṃhāra was staged at the Senate Hall, Prof. Kṣetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya in the role of Aśvatthāmā being universally commended for his fine display.

The conference accepted the invitation of Dr. Woolner to hold its next sessions at Lahore in 1928.

U. N. G.

On Some Methods and Conclusions in Hindu Politics

Dr. Ghoshal's book Re-examined

While preparing in 1924 the manuscript for pt. II of vol. II (Political) of my *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology* (Panini Office, Allahabad) it appeared to me, living as I was then in Italy, that modern Italian investigations in ancient Indian politics were hardly known in India or abroad. This led me to the preparation of a bibliographical monograph entitled *Hindu Politics in Italian* which might serve as an appendix to the *Pos. Back. Hind. Soc.* The occasion of this appendix incidentally furnished me with an opportunity for examining the books on allied topics which, since the publication of my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922), happened to come into my hands. One of the books thus reviewed is Dr. Ghoshal's *Hindu Political Theories* (henceforth abbreviated as *H. P. T.*).

Hindu Politics in Italian has appeared in four consecutive numbers of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (vols. I and II). In vol. II, no. 2, which contains the last portion of my contribution and which besides has references to the *H. P. T.* there is a rejoinder by Dr. Ghoshal on pages 420-430.

My review of his work was based on a thorough acquaintance with its contents on every page. And I am happy that the author has furnished me with another chance to read his learned book from cover to cover. I have now reoriented myself to his standpoints and conclusions, and thus fortified shall try to meet his charges, item by item.

Dr. Ghoshal's Suspicion

Dr. Ghoshal begins his contribution in the following manner: "The professed object of the writer (Sarkar)," says he, is "to summarize and review almost all that has appeared in Italian (here G. inserts a *sic*) on the subject of Hindu political theories and institutions." I cannot make out the exact item or items of his suspicion in my professed object. For certainly (i) it was my intention to summarize and review; (ii) the intention was to cover nearly the entire ground ("almost all"); (iii) the summary and review were confined to Italian language (as contrasted with German, French, British or American); and (iv) the contributions in Italian in the field of Hindu political theories and institutions to the exclusion of Hindu philology, archæology, anthropology and so forth demanded my attention. As far as can be guessed, perhaps one might reasonably suspect if no. ii can rightfully be asserted. But the writings have been mentioned in the chronological order, and the sources of my information both German and Italian, on the strength of which I ventured on saying "almost all that has appeared" have also been indicated.

Relevancy of my Reviews

Dr. Ghoshal's next sentence reads as follows: "However he (Sarkar) has thought it fit with remarkable relevancy to indulge in general reviews of a number of recent Indian publications dealing with this branch of investigation."

Dr. G. makes a misleading statement here. "It is only from one standpoint that the recent Indian publications have been dealt with in my paper. And the aspect has been explicitly indicated as follows: "It is clear that Machiavelli looms large in Italian thought.* * * In *Machiavellism*, as they understand it, is, of course to be included the philosophy of Hindu *arthaśāstras* and *nītiśāstras* as well.* * * By the light of these Italian contributions to the subject of Indian Machiavellism it would be interesting to inquire how Indian scholars are oriented to Machiavelli himself or to Machiavellism as a creed."

After examining two books I have made the following statement: "Let us now turn to Dr. G. who in his *History* has much to say on Machiavelli." The relevancy is self-evident. Besides, neither in regard to Dr. G's book nor in regard to the other Indian works has a single word been spent on items that have no bearing on Machiavelli or Machiavellism.

But while introducing the views on Machiavellism of these authors, care was taken to describe the merits and shortcomings of their contributions. But the whole stuff ("general reviews") has been relegated to the footnotes which have nothing to do with the text. Such "general reviews" (in foot notes) have been "indulged in" in regard to Hillebrandt's *Altindische Politik*, Monahan's *Early History of Bengal*, French studies in Hindu politics, Stein's *Megasthenes und Kautilya* and Vico's *Nuova Scienza*.

Dr. G's book, as he rightly says, has been "casually noticed" by me in one place and "subjected to a long and searching examination" in another place. It is necessary to add, moreover, that both these places are to be found in the footnotes.

The Limitations of Dr. Ghoshal's Scope

Dr. Ghoshal objects to the very first statements in my footnote on his work thus: "The critic prefaces his general review of the *H. P. T.* by commenting what he fancies to be the limited scope of the work. This point is connected with the critic's highly original idea of the scope of historical investigation of political theories, and may be conveniently considered at a later place."

I have simply stated the facts as they are. There is neither any "lament" nor any "fancy." My statement is as follows: "His book has grown virtually into an examination of the theory of kingship. The problems selected by him for survey have imposed limitations on the scope. The author perhaps is not conscious of these limitations, for he does not mention them anywhere in the preface or the text."

Dr. G. does not point out what my "highly original idea of the scope, etc." is, nor does he try to dispute it or replace it by something of his own. But he claims that "other topics which properly fall within the scope etc." have "received their just share of recognition" at his hands. And he thinks that enough has been done by a student of the history of political theories when one in addition to the theory of kingship discusses "such topics as (i) the relation of politics to law, (ii) the scope and method of the *Arthaśāstra* and its relation to other sciences, (iii) the relation of politics to religion and morality, and (iv) last but not least, the theory of republics."

Now, one is at liberty to choose any scope of investigation. And certainly nobody would deny that these four or rather five items belong to the province of political theory. But our author believes

that he has thereby exhausted the whole range of political theory and declares that "where there are no 'limitations,' no occasion arises for being conscious of their existence." (But see later).

Virtually, the Theory of Kingship

But on the other hand it is my duty to point out, if not to the author, at any rate, to my readers that political theory may comprise other items as well such as have been ignored in Dr. Ghoshal's book. Besides, when an author intends to write a "history" of political theories, he is not free to adumbrate his own political philosophy except as an interpreter, critic or judge has to deal with the ideas, concepts etc. of other authors. The historian is bound to describe **what** these other men have thought, said and written. Now if the ancient and mediæval Hindu thinkers have more things to say than are to be found in Dr. Ghoshal's *History*, a reader has right to maintain that the *History* has "limitations." Anybody who is familiar with the tables of contents in ancient and mediæval Indian political texts knows quite well that the range of political theory as conceived by the Hindus is infinitely more extensive than can be covered even by a very extensive discussion of the four or five items to which Dr. G. devotes his attention.

When, therefore, somebody says that the book is "virtually" an "examination" of the theory of 'kingship' there is absolutely no attempt made to "mis-state the facts," as the author alleges. And since Dr. G. admits that a "larger place" has been given to the theory of kingship, it appears that I have only told the literal truth. My readers will get in Dr. G's book just what I have said and will have no reasons to complain so far at least as this aspect is concerned.

Dr. Ghoshal confounds Theories with Institutions

Dr. Ghoshal's description of the "standard Indian polity" is based on Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and other writers of *Smṛiti* (pp. 13-16). In regard to these evidences my judgment is to the effect that their "institutional value" is questionable. For, as is well known, these *Smṛiti* books merely say that the king *should* do such and such things, the priest *should* do such and such things, and so on. Collections of these and allied "shoulds" may indicate the trends of thought, speculation, theory or philosophy in the social fields but not *necessarily* the actual histories of positive realities such as may

point to what is or was being done by the men and women of flesh and blood. In a description of the "standard Indian polity" one expects the *historical* constitutional facts bearing on what was and has been, and not on what ought to be or what is desirable and decent according to certain norms.

The author does not make this distinction between facts and ideas or ideals, and therefore cannot complain if somebody pointed out an imperfection. My statement is as follows : "The constitutional background ought to have been exhibited on the strength of more historical and concrete material. But he has not cared to attend to this aspect of the problem."

If it is true that there is "no well-documented institutional history," as I admit in other contexts, an author should either try to fill in the gap or gaps. Or if that be beyond his scope, he should let the question of "standard Indian polity" alone and avoid confounding "polity" with the "ideas" on polity. He should confine himself exclusively to the theory. I have no objection to the *Smṛti* texts being used in a description of theories, ideas, ideals, etc. and have therefore raised the following sceptical questions :—

"How can one and the same evidence be used indifferently for speculation as well as for facts without a word of explanation?"

Should, however, Dr. G. believe that the *Smṛti* and similar texts,—the "theoretical data,"—are "non-idealistic" as well, he will have to begin by analyzing their contents and pointing out which elements constitute the positive registers of constitutional and political data and which the records of speculation or summaries of ideas bearing on the same. The analysis and dissection must satisfy the demands of anthropology and archæology. But this he has not done.

An Unsettled Question in Indology

It may be observed *en passant*, as has been pointed out by the present writer on various "occasions, that the subtle distinction between pious wishes" and *Real politik* has invariably escaped the workers in indology. While committing the fallacy involved in ignoring this distinction, Dr. Ghoshal is thus not in bad company. But for students of science it is no longer advisable to beat about the bush. Workers in ancient Indian lore must have the courage to face the situation and ransack the available literary data from the standpoint of positive science wherever possible,

The time has come to attempt rendering unto history the truths that are history's and unto philosophy the truths that are philosophy's.

Significance of Vedic Gods Misunderstood

The author lays his fingers on one of my paragraphs where I am alleged "to state the reverse of truth" and make a "facile generalization" "in line with" my "characteristic manner."

This charge is directed against my judgment which was pronounced to the effect that Dr. G. "makes too much of the doctrine of the alleged divinity of the king in the Vedic texts (pp. 27-32). It is ignored that almost everything is endowed with the so-called 'divine attributes' in the *Vedas*."

The author defends himself in the rejoinder by saying that he has cared specially to point out that the status of divinity was a privilege of all persons entitled to the *Śrauta* sacrifice. Yes. But this does not meet my point which is aimed at "too much" being made of the "alleged divinity of the king." If everybody, nay, "*everything*" can become "divine" (whatever it may mean) in the Vedic literature under certain circumstances, why stress this point at all? There is nothing specifically divine in the king.

That is why it was necessary to point out further that "the significance of the fact that every sacrificer is the equal of Brhaspati and other gods has been lost sight of" by Dr. G. The important item here is not the fact itself but the "significance" of the fact which is quite a different thing. To state, discover or unearth a fact belongs to one science. But to "interpret" or "explain" it belongs to another. One can quite well state a fact without "understanding" its "meaning." Similarly one may quite well explain the meaning of a fact without being able to discover or explore it.

That the distinction between the fact and the significance of the fact is still obscure in Dr. G.'s eyes is clear from his attempt at self-defence in the rejoinder. He says, "To state in the face of this that the sharing of divine attributes of the king by others in the Vedic religious conceptions is ignored in the *H. P. T.* is to state the reverse of truth." Nothing at all of the kind. My criticism does not dispute that he has described the "sharing" of divinity by others. The passages cited by him certainly indicate this.

But what do the passages "mean"? The import of these passages would deprive his postulate of the divinity of the king of its very substance.

Divinity due to Kingship. Not Kingship due to Divinity

There are altogether 18 passages from the *R̥g-Veda*, *Atharva-Veda*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* cited by the author (pp. 27-82) in regard to the king as divinity and allied topics. None of them can be so interpreted as to ascribe kingship to divine origin or base the "king's authority upon his divinity." The sole constitutional value of the passages should lead as pointed out by myself "to the doctrine, not that the king's authority is based upon divinity but exactly its contrary, namely, that divinity itself comes from kingship."

How the mere statement of a fact differs from the significance of it is, curiously enough, illustrated by another item in Dr. G.'s writing. At one point (p. 30) the author hits upon **what** I consider to be the correct position, viz. that "king's divinity is derived." But he does not know what use to make of this fact. Or rather instead of making a legitimate use of his *datum* he hastens to a position that is not warranted by evidence, so far at least as the passages in question are concerned.

The texts tell us in so many words (pp. 30-31) that a person he comes divine through certain actions (we need not go into the details) and that divinity is but a consequence and not the cause or antecedent. We are to understand that *Trasadasyu* or for that matter anybody becomes a *Varuṇa* or an *Indra* as soon as he becomes a king or rather is consecrated. But we are not told, in the passages cited, that some body becomes king because he is divine, godlike, descended from the gods or so forth. Once you are a king you are a god. Quit Pharaonic as it is, a proposition like this is the direct antipodes to the position of a scholar who wants to establish the thesis that there is such a thing as "king's rule by virtue of his divinity" (p. 33).

Dr. Ghoshal's Rejoinder Contradicts his Book

The author in his rejoinder takes a position which in some respect goes directly against his data in the book. There (p. 30) he is responsible for the following statement: "The king's divinity is derived from a two-fold title,—as a member of the ruling class and as participator in the omnipotent sacrificial ceremonies." But in the rejoinder he chastises me for holding the same view and considers "the derivation of divinity from the kingship" to be a view which is pointedly contradicted by the evidence of a *Brāhmaṇa* passage (quoted in *H. P. T.*, pp. 32-33)."

We thus find our author in a rather inconvenient position. For, if rejoinder is to possess any value, pp. 32-33 of his book contradict in their entirety pp. 30-31. In the book itself the author has merely failed to make use of a good point. But now his inconsistency compels him to disown it.

The King's Ceremonial Shootings

It has been mentioned above that there are altogether 18 passages in Dr. G.'s book bearing on the different aspects of the king's divinity. In the rejoinder the author wants to single out one of these passages. In the book itself (p. 31) he has offered us three in regard to the problem of "king's rule by virtue of his divinity."

Let us then first take the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* passage (V. 1. 5. 14) singled out by the author as of "great interest in the history of Indian political thought" (p. 33). In the political sacrifice called *Rājasūya*, the king, the Kṣatriya, or Rājanya has to practise a ceremonial shooting as he is likewise called upon to do many other ceremonial things. This rite has seemingly called for a word of explanation in the *Śat. Br.*, which runs thus:—"And as to why a Rājanya shoots, he, the Rājanya, is the visible representative of Prajāpati (the lord of creatures): hence, while being one, he rules over many."

It need be observed moreover that every explanation is not a "causational" statement. Propositions with "why" may involve nothing more than sequences of axioms.

The explanation is indeed very elementary. The question has been asked "Why does the king shoot?" The answer is: "Because he is the king." The expressions "Rājanya," "visible representative of Prajāpati" and "rules over many" are essentially synonyms, and convey no other significance than that of identity. If there is any syllogism here, it is nothing more serious than "A is A because it is A."

How the King becomes identical with Prajāpati

We have taken the above passage as given in Dr. G.'s book. The translation is Eggeling's in the *Sacred Books of the East Series*, but the author has introduced a slight modification.

It is necessary for a minute to pause over the text itself and the translation as well as the modification of the translation.

The verse begins thus:

Tadyat rājanyaḥ pravidhyati. Eggeling translates it as follows:

"And as to why a Rājanya shoots." The translation should be happier thus,—“Now then (concerning the fact) that *the* Rājanya (not *a* Rājanya) shoots.” A “why” is not absolutely necessary.

The previous verse (no. 13) has described the shooting of seventeen arrows by the Rājanya. “For as much as is one arrow’s range so much is Prajāpati crosswise, and as much as are seventeen arrows’ ranges so much is Prajāpati lengthwise.” (Eggeling has here neglected to translate *atha vedjantāt*).

What do we have to understand by Prajāpati in this connection? A previous verse (no. 6) in the same V. 1. 5. says that “Prajāpati is speech, and that doubtless is the supreme speech which is the outcome of seventeen drums.”

In the same verse the Rājanya “wins the supreme speech the supreme Prajāpati. Seventeen these are because Prajāpti is seventeenfold, he thus wins Prajāpati.”

One does not, then, have to translate Prajāpati as “lord of creatures” as Eggeling does and as Dr. Ghoshal accepts. But in any case it is clear that the Rājanya has won Prajāpati by certain feats of his own. And when therefore he comes to be described as “*Prajāpateḥ pratyakṣa-tamām*” (the original text, by the bye, is grammatically wrong) i.e. the most visible (form ?) of Prajāpati one does not at all have to attribute the Rājanya’s authority to Prajāpati, whatever this latter is, “speech” or “lord of creatures.”

And certainly to call the Rājanya a “representative” of Prajāpati, on the strength of Sāyaṇa’s explanation (viz. *pratyakṣatamaṃ rūpam*, i.e. the most visible *form* as Dr. G. does, is utterly untenable. Eggeling has said simply, “most manifestly of Prajāpati). These textual and translational difficulties do not, however, militate against my thesis that nobody is authorized here to attribute the kingly power to something external, to some outside authority.

Besides, the unsatisfactory manner in which the equation between the Rājanya and Prajāpati is established in the *Śatapatha Brūhmaṇa* is apparent from the very next phrase cited by the author. We are told that “Because Prajāpati has four syllables and Rājanya also has four syllables therefore a Rājanya shoots.” Further, “he shoots seventeen arrows’ ranges because Prajāpati is seventeenfold : he thereby wins Prajāpati.”

The processes by which the king grows into Prajāpati have nothing divine, esoteric or mystical about them. No external authority raises him to that level or makes him identical with Prajāpati.

Śatapatha and Taittirīya Passages

Another (*Śat. Br.* XII. 13.8.) passage describes a rite of the Horse-sacrifice in which the king takes part. Among his performances we read, "One additional (oblation) he offers, whence one man is apt to thrive amongst (many) creatures (or subjects)." The thriving among creatures in this passage is identical in import with the ruling over many in the previous (V. 1.5.14).

Then there is the *Taitt. Saṃ.* passage (II. 2.11.6) where the result of certain offerings is described as follows: "So him becoming Indra his fellows recognize as superior; he becomes the best of his fellows." In the concept of becoming the "best of his fellows" we read once more the "thriving" and the "ruling."

The passages are quite simple. There is nothing to indicate that the king's authority is based upon his divinity or that the king rules by virtue of his divinity. We have to note only the following three attributes of kingship and the king's position:—

1. The king, Rājanya or Kṣatriya is the "best" etc., "thrives" and "rules."
2. The king acquires his Indrahood (call it divinity) and becomes the most visible form of Prajāpati because of the ceremonial rites. In other words, he is divine because he rules and not *vice versa*.
3. As incidents in the ceremonies the king has to offer an additional oblation or to shoot. The shooting and the oblation he has to practise because of the ceremonies and not because of his divinity.

And the ceremonies he has to undertake, because he is a king and not because he is a god. As a matter of fact, the fellow does not become a god until and unless he has undertaken the ceremonies and offered the oblation or practised the shooting. Everything is to be traced back to kingship. Indeed we may look upon these passages as but providing us with a definition of the king.

Dr. G. has shot wide of the mark by trying to read into these passages, simple as they are, the enunciation of a "doctrine which become, the corner-stone of the theories of kingship in the later canonical works, namely, that of the king's rule by virtue of his divinity" (p. 33). Perhaps he has been misled by the uncouth character of archaic Vedic syntax.

The Puruṣa-Sūkta

In regard to the oft-quoted *Puruṣa-Sūkta* (*Rg-Veda*, x. 90) metaphor which Dr. G. suspects is "new" to me but is "familiar to every student of Indian antiquities", the following remark is to be

to mention these items in their order,—the Brāhmaṇa cannot be superior to the Rājanya and the Vaiśya to the Śūdra. One is not at liberty to have two or three different logics in one and the same *Sūkta*. Let me reiterate that the items have been mentioned by the authors in a “haphazard manner” and without any logic.

It appears that Indra and Agni have had no very staunch advocates among the mundanes. That is perhaps why we hear of no complaint against their being accorded the third place in a “social (?) system” which accords the place of honour to the Moon. Nor do we happen to hear of any controversies in regard to the claims of air, the sky, the earth and the four quarters as to which of these elements deserves “precedence” or “prominence” in the system of the universe. Neither the students of astronomy nor of physics are fighting over the “value” for the “significance” to be attached to the place assigned to these natural agencies in the *Sūkta* schedule.

No value can, therefore, be reasonably attached to the order in which the Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, etc. are mentioned. But of course those who do not care to follow any logic and are prepared to consider any string of names as constituting a “system” simply because it is to be found in a Sanskrit book, forsooth, in the *R̥gveda* itself, are likely to see in it the things which do not exist there.

Coming back to Dr. Ghoshal’s book, my conclusion, therefore, has been as follows :—

“The explanation of the theory of ‘class origins’ is not happy (pp. 44-45). The oft-quoted *Puruṣa-sūkta* cannot involve the dogma of the ‘precedence’ of some in regard to the others.”

Everybody is somebody in his own place

It need be observed that nothing has been said by myself against the doctrine of social inequality or what is the same thing, the dogma of precedence, as such. Nor does my contribution say that this dogma cannot be substantiated by evidences from the Sanskrit texts. The *Puruṣa-sūkta* was singled out simply to show that Dr. Ghoshal’s treatment of this evidence is not happy, for it does not logically involve the dogma that is sought to be established.

There is another evidence by Dr. Ghoshal and in that connection my remarks are the following :—“Nor do the statements in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* to the effect that one is chief, another is strong and so forth point to anything more than the fact that each one is somebody in his own field (cf. also H. P. T., p. 6.)”

found in my criticism :—"There is no logic in the haphazard manner in which the Sun and the Moon, the Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra are described as having been born." My remark has to be understood with reference to the "dogma of precedence" which the author tries to establish.

At one place the *Sūkta* says that the Puruṣa's mouth became the Brāhmaṇa and at another point we read that Indra and Agni sprang from his mouth. In the one case the mouth is mentioned first ; but in the other instance the mouth is mentioned third, the first place being given to the mind and the second to the eye.

According to this latter arrangement, then, the Moon that springs from the mind is perhaps superior to the Sun that springs from the item mentioned next, namely, the eye. And therefore, Indra and Agni are inferior to the Moon and the Sun.

Further the *Sūkta* mentions the mouth twice but in two different positions. Similarly the feet are mentioned twice, and this again in two different orders. In the first instance the feet occupy the fourth place and the Śūdra is supposed to have sprung from them. In the second instance the feet have the seventh place and from there arose the earth. In the first instance the feet are the last to mention, but in the second instance the feet have "precedence" before the ear which is the eighth in order.

In the *Sūkta*, at one point, again, the breath of the Puruṣa gives rise to the god of wind. But at another point the air arose from the navel. In other words, the gods of wind and air are two different categories with two independent origins, and these are as different as the breath and navel.

On the face of it the enumeration should be treated as nonsense. If the authors of the *Puruṣa-sūkta* are to be credited with a certain amount of coherent thinking, logical order or sense of system we shall have to understand them as having propounded a "dogma of precedence" or "pre-eminence" in which the navel (and correspondingly, the air) is superior to the head (and correspondingly, the sky), the head (sky) as superior to the feet (earth), and feet (earth) as superior to the ear (four quarters). And, again, as already indicated above, the mind (Moon) should be superior to the eye (Sun), the eye (Sun) superior to the mouth (Indra and Agni), and mouth (Indra and Agni) superior to the breath (god of wind).

Unless the navel be conceded to be superior to the head and the feet superior to the ear,—simply because the authors have cared

The author believes that I have here conveniently suppressed the statements that "the Vaiśyas are to be eaten and that the Śūdras are dependent upon others."

No, all these statements have been included in my remark that 'each one is somebody in his own field,—even the Śūdra, although he was not created after any gods.' But the chief thing here is the question of precedence.

In regard to the Śūdra the texts leave no doubt about his inferiority. We are told that he is "not fit for sacrifice" and is "dependent on others."

The Vaiśya in Social Economy

But what about the Vaiśya? There is nothing to indicate that he is inferior to or dependent on the Brāhmaṇa and the Rājanya. He is as *great* a "somebody in his own field" as the Brāhmaṇa, the chief, and the Rājanya, the strong. But he is not as *low* a "somebody in his own field" as the Śūdra,—for the Vaiśya is not dependent and not unfit for the sacrifice. Nay as sacrificer the Vaiśya is as *pucca* "divine" as the Kṣatriya and the Brāhmaṇa. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. 2. 1, 39-40) can be cited in favour of the view that the Vaiśya is on a par with the Brāhmaṇa.

The equality of the Vaiśya with the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya robs the dogma of social precedence of any substantial significance. We need emphasise here the item mentioned in the *Tait. Saṃ.* (VII, 1.1.), viz., that the Vaiśyas are "more numerous than others for they were created after the most numerous of the Gods." The dogma, if it is to be maintained at all, implies therefore (1) that the Vaiśyas do not have to *kowtow* to the "others" and (2) that the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya, who likewise do not *kowtow* to others, have numerically to yield the palm to the Vaiśyas.

But, then, there remains the item that the Vaiśyas "are to be eaten." In the first place, "to be eaten" is a "function" which is quite in order in a system where "everybody is somebody in his own field." In the second place, what do the authors of the *Tait. Saṃ.* really mean by this phrase? They have mentioned altogether six things in one breath and all "are to be eaten." Those six things are the Saptadaśa Stoma, the All-gods as deities, the Jagati metre, the Vaiūpa Saman, the Vaiśya and Cows. It is clear, of course, that the items other than the cows cannot be eaten in the literal sense.

In the third place, whatever be the meaning attached to eating in

regard to the other items, there may not be much difficulty in trying to eat the Vaiśyas for they can be taken to be equivalent to the producing class and of course whatever is "produced" can also be "consumed" (although not exactly "eaten"). But still it is not possible to attach the idea of inferiority to the Vaiśyas simply because they are "to be eaten." If the persons who are to eat them are to be regarded as superior, then not only the Brāhmaṇas and the Rājanyas would be superior to the Vaiśyas, but the Śūdras too. For there is no injunction against the Śūdras eating the Vaiśyas as there is no special privilege of the Brāhmaṇas and Rājanyas mentioned in regard to this eating business.

Now if by being eaten by the Śūdras the Vaiśyas become inferior to the latter, then the *Tait. Sam.*'s verdict that the Śūdras are "dependent on others, etc." loses all its sting, because it raises them to the status of the Brāhmaṇas and the Rājanyas in the function of eating. Or, if we are to maintain that the *Tait. Sam.* does not intend to withdraw its ideas about the inferiority of the Śūdra we must have to admit that the function of being eaten carries with it no inferiority of the Vaiśyas in relation with the Brāhmaṇa and Rājanyas who are to eat.

Either the *Tait. Sam.* does not genuinely mean the inferiority of the Śūdras in the social system or it attaches no inferiority complex to the Vaiśyas because they are to be eaten. Here is a dilemma that compels the dogma of social precedence to look for other evidences stronger than the ones discussed by Dr. Ghoshal.

The Perspectives of Vedic Politics

On the subject of Vedic politics Dr. Ghoshal considers me to be an ignoramus. Says he :—"Criticism of this kind shows, if anything, the critic's ignorance of the subject which he professes to treat."

I suspect I am not perhaps as profound a Vedic scholar as the learned author. But I am not obstinate enough to persist in my ignorance and I attempt to remain always teachable. I do not therefore understand what leads Dr. G. to indulge in a joke on what he describes as a "precious advice" offered by me "to the investigator of Vedic politics."

My ideas on "the right place of Vedic thought in the history of political speculations" which, I believe, "has not been appropriately grasped by the author" are as follows :—

"Neither the polity nor the political thoughts of the Vedic *Ris*, should there be any, can be adequately explained if one approaches the subject from the angle of mythology and religion or from that of

the life-history of the chief or the sacrificial minister. This is why Dr. Ghoshal has failed to visualize the genuine problems of the fire-sages, harnessed as they are to colonizing, conquest and inter-tribal war and peace, and altogether to the evocation and development of the aggressive personality of the *vīś* group."

And what do I think Dr. Ghoshal has done in his book? "While the war-chief and the fire-craftsman have been accorded much of the canvas, the real centre of political as well as social and economic interest has been virtually ignored."

In regard to the "real centre" of Vedic politics my position has been briefly stated in the following terms :—

"The two paramount factors of that public life are furnished by (1) wars of the tribal *vīś* with the Dasyus and (2) wars among the tribal *vīśas* themselves. External or foreign politics constitute the backbone of *vīś*-activities. * * * It is the *vīś* that is abroad conquering and to conquer."

These ideas undoubtedly exhibit my colossal ignorance and shall surely form the fit butt of ridicule from learned Vedic scholars like Dr. Ghoshal. And I am grateful to him that after administering a few rebukes he has cared to give me some solid lessons. First, he wants me to learn that "Vedic thought consists of successive strands and that the "Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods witnessed a progressive" transformation of the polity. Let me, however, submit that the lesson would have been appropriate had I attempted an independent treatise on the subject and failed to indicate the different strands without at the same time mentioning in the preface the reasons for that failure.

But my business in that footnote to *Hindu Politics in Italian* so far as this item is concerned has been exhausted in some twenty lines. And it has consisted only in pointing out the imperfections of Dr. Ghoshal's book on the question of the general orientation to the problems of Vedic politics. No matter what be the strand of Vedic thought he touches—including of course the R̥g-Veda—he virtually ignores, let me repeat, "the real centre of political as well as social and economic interest."

We have noticed on several occasions that our author has failed to notice the limitations—whether in commission or omission,—even when pointed out in a genuinely scientific and thoroughly friendly spirit. In regard to the perspectives of Vedic politics we find him, again, in his usual mood. For he has cared to give me another lesson.

He says : "Even if we admit for the earlier period that the genuine

problems of the fire-sages were those concerned with colonizing, etc.
 * * * their consideration would properly fall within the scope of the historian of political institutions. Failure to visualize these in a work dealing exclusively with the history of political ideas cannot and ought not to be regarded as an omission."

The author tries here to escape in quite a learned manner. But it is not easy to escape. First, it is not true that his book has nothing to do with "political institutions." We have not forgotten having met him while discussing the "standard Indian polity" (pp. 13-16). He cannot therefore plead that there is no omission or that the omission is intentional. The omission is due to the fact already discussed, namely, that the "right place of Vedic thought in the history of political speculation has not been appropriately grasped by the author."

In the second place, it is not correct to say that I have been talking all this while of Vedic "political institutions." No. I am always speaking of "thought," "speculation," the "political thoughts of the Vedic *Rsis*, *should there be any*." If, therefore, a reader finds that Dr. G. has been talking exclusively of the speculations bearing on the king and the priest, or the priest and the king ignoring the ideas on war, inter-tribal conflicts, the struggle of groups or races, or the ideas on the group-activities of the *viś*, the people, even while discussing the Rg-Vedic strand, there can be but one explanation. And that is the author's absence of adequate orientation to the proper perspectives of Vedic political speculation.

(To be continued)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Evidence of Pāṇini on Vasudeva Worship

Our thanks are due to Mr. U. C. Bhattacharjee for having given us an opportunity to explain our arguments in defence of Pāṇini and his commentators on the one hand and Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar on the other, who is accused of blindly following them.

He demands my answer to a certain absurdity that would result. This question has already been answered, and if I remember aright it has even been pointed out which way the absurdity lies ; and so I do not propose to reiterate my arguments.

He finds fault with me for having overlooked the significance of the phrase 'atha vā' in the passage quoted. I have to admit it in the sense that I have failed to write a short dissertation on the meaning of the phrase as understood by our Śāstrakāras, which I thought unnecessary. However I shall do it briefly here.

As I do not feel myself competent enough to enter into a discussion on the relative superiority of first and second thoughts from the point of view of psychology, I shall try briefly to indicate the significance of the phrase 'atha vā' that is generally accepted by our Śāstrakāras. In the course of argumentation, when the Siddhānta is to be established as against the Pūrvapakṣa, it is usual for the Śāstrakāras to advance alternative arguments or reasons and in this connection, the phrase 'atha vā' would serve as an introduction to each of the arguments so adduced. As a general rule, the last of such arguments happens to be the accepted one as irrefutable in establishing the Siddhānta, and that especially with Patañjali who takes delight in enticing his opponents into pitfalls by adopting a zig-zag course in reaching his goal like that of a snake. Dialectics is the region in which he reigns supreme, with the consequence that he has got two hundred thoughts on one and the same subject, of which the two hundredth may be the accepted one. It is not necessary to point out that the phrase 'atha vā' is not only frequently used, but also prefixed as introduction to the last of such alternative arguments. I would leave it for the readers to imagine the absurdity that would result, if we are to interpret it in the manner our friend would like us to do.

Further we are asked to cite our authority for the bisection of the meaning of the word 'bhaktiḥ.' Before proceeding with the answer, we have to thank him for having deferred the reply with regard to the interpretation of the rule IV-2-24. Any reader of our previous

note (I.H.Q., March, 1926) could at once understand that our authority is no other than Pāṇini and his Aṣṭādhyāyī, not to speak of the commentators ; and the dilemma is nothing but a phantom.

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM

My friend contends that Pāṇini himself has said that 'bhakti' must mean one thing with reference to *Vāsudeva* and quite another with reference to *Arjuna* and perhaps a third with reference to *Apūpa*, and so on. But where does Pāṇini say this? He should have pointed it out to me.

As to '*atha vā*' his arguments are quite amusing. I never knew that an alternative argument is the strongest argument.

I can only say that I have found nothing as yet to change my views.*

U. C. BHATTACHARJI

The Greater India Society

An institution called the Greater India Society has been recently inaugurated in Calcutta with a view to study, and renew the spiritual and cultural relationship of India with Greater India, i.e., (1) *Serindia* or Central Asia, (2) *India Minor* (Afghanistan etc.), (3) *Indo-China* or Burma, Siam, Laos, Cambodia and Champa, (4) *Insulindia* or Sumatra, Java, Bali, Madura and the islands of the Malay archipelago, (5) China, Korea, Japan, and (6) other countries of Asia, e.g., Iran and Western Asia. The Society will investigate into the cultural history of India, and trace its development in and outside the country publishing regularly the results of the researches. It will also undertake such activities as may help to establish relations of fellowship and amity between the people of India and the outside world. Books, periodicals, donations and letters are to be sent to the Hony. Secretary, Dr. Kalidas Nag at 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

* The controversy is closed.—Ed.

Manuscript Collection of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat

A description of rare and important manuscripts collected by some Research Society or Association would surely be useful to scholars particularly in view of the fact that it may take a long time before Descriptive Catalogues of them are published or at all undertaken. And hence it was with the greatest interest that I read such a description, published just recently, of the Manuscript collection of the Dacca University.¹

I propose to give here a brief description of the activities of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat—a young oriental society of Calcutta—in the direction of the collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts. The number of manuscripts, already collected, of course, is not very great. The number of those already listed is 1854 and more than 500 still await to be listed. The largest number of these belongs to Navya Nyāya, the most favourite subject of study of the Pandits of Bengal, numbering 580 and next comes Navya Smṛti which claims 366 Mss. To the Tantras which were also assiduously studied and rites whereof were practised with equal assiduity and zeal by the people of Bengal, even not long ago, belongs a fairly good number of manuscripts, 171 in all. This comparative smallness of this number is probably due to the fact that the manuscripts were mostly collected from the Western parts of Bengal and not from the Eastern or Northern parts which were the strongholds of Tantrikism.

A few words as regards the places from which the Mss. were obtained will not be out of place here. The Parishat authorities made it a point to confine their attention first to villages which were still recently dominated by orthodox pandits of deep erudition—a class, which to our utter misfortune, is fast dwindling unable to fight with the economic conditions of these days and eke out a livelihood for themselves and their pupils whom they invariably maintained. Thus Mss. were collected from different places renowned for orthodox learning such as Bansbaria and Ilsoha (in the district of Hughly), Memari (Burdwan), Brahmandanga (Jessore), Satkhira (Khulna), Dhānukā and Kotwalipārā (Faridpur). Most of the Mss. were acquired through free gifts made by the descendants of the Pandits referred to, and some were also purchased. It should be noted here that the Parishat was fortunate in being able to acquire two splendid

1 *Indian Antiquary*, July, 1926, pp. 121-2.

collections—one of Maharaja Bahadur Kamal Krishna Deva of Sobhabazar, Calcutta and the other of Maharaja Jayanārāyaṇa of Bhukailasa—which were kindly presented to the Parishat by the descendants of the owners.

Now, I shall have to say a few words about the more important Mss. contained in this collection. Vedic Mss. of the Saṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra classes are conspicuous by their absence. It is well-known that few such Vedic Mss. are to be found in Bengal. But here is a good number of Upaniṣads and their commentaries in Bengali character of the first quarter of the 18th century. As regards exegetical works, besides the celebrated works of Śaṅkara and Ānandagiri, here are to be found sub-commentaries by Jñānagopāendra and Abhinava Nārāyaṇendra—all in Bengali character. There are some books again which though classed under Smṛti works may rightly be dealt with here. These are *Chandogamantrabhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu, *Mantrakaumudī* of Rāmakṛṣṇa, *Pratiṣṭhā-mantravyākhyā* of Kaṃsāri Miśra, *Sūtaga-mantra-vyākhyā* of Ramānātha Vidyāvācaspati—works furnishing instances as to how Vedic ritualistic *mantras* were interpreted in pre- and post-Sāyaṇic times.

Among grammatical works the most important is a copy of a gloss on the aphorisms of *Kūtantra-vyākaraṇa* by Vararuci. This is a very rare manuscript and it was first described by Mm. Hara-prasāda Śāstri in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Second Series, vol. I, p. 47). It should be noted that the Parishat has secured the very Ms. noticed by Mm. Śāstri. No other Ms. of this book is reported to exist anywhere else. There is a Ms. of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* in Bengali character, not very old, showing that works of the Pāṇini school were studied in Bengal in days not long past. Mention should be made of a fragmentary copy of *Prākṛitaprakāśa* of Vararuci with a gloss of one Deveśvara, son of Bhaṭṭa who does not seem to be identical with Deveśvara, author of *Kavikalpalatā*, as the latter represents himself as the *Mahāmātya* (prime minister) of the king of Mālava and as the son of Vāgbhaṭa. Of other works in this section reference should be made to copies of interesting works like books on spelling, on the determination of *n* and *ṇ*, of *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*, and of *v* and *ḁ*.

Among Kāvya Mss. there is an old Ms. of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, copied in Ś. E. 1328 (1406 A. D.) which runs up to the eighth canto. There are two copies of a commentary by Bhavadatta on *Naiṣadhacarita* and one copy of a commentary by Gadasimha on *Kirātārjunīya*. The Parishat has a manuscript copy of a new kāvya

called *Citrakāvya* by Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra of the court of king Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia (Bengal). This poet was so long well-known among Sanskrit scholars as a great poet only through his exquisite stray verses.

In philosophy, the largest number of Mss. belongs, as already noted, to Nyāya. A very important work in this section is a copy of a *Cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-tippaṇi* of Bhavānanda Vidyāsāgāra copied in ś. E. 1515 (1593 A. D.). In the face of this acquisition the view expressed by the late Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa that Bhavānanda flourished in the first quarter of the 17th century is no longer tenable without modification.¹ It is just possible that he flourished in the middle of of the sixteenth century.

Of other old manuscripts of Nyāya works we have a copy of *Cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti* of Raghunath Śiromaṇi (copied in 1600 ś. E.), *Apūrvavādarahasya* of Mathurānātha (copied in 1701 ś. E.), *Bhāṣāparīcheda* (copied in 1717 ś. E.).

Other philosophical schools cannot be said to be well-represented, undoubtedly because of their comparative neglect in Bengal. In the Vedānta section the most important work that we have is a fragmentary copy of Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the Vedāntasūtras in old Bengali character copied so long ago as ś. E. 1361 (A. D. 1439). There are two copies of a gloss on these Sūtras by Anūpanārayaṇa Śiromaṇi. This work has been undertaken for publication by the Parishat.

Smṛti Mss. include works of renowned writers like Raghunandana, Halāyudha, Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati Miśra, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa and others as also those of less reputed authors, among whom there are found many new names. One very important work in this section is a copy of *Pitṛdayitū*, a very rare manuscript of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, *guru* (preceptor) of Ballālasena showing how *Śrāddhas* were performed during the Sena period in Bengal. This work has been published in the Parishat series. Another work of this author *Hāratalū* has already appeared in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series. A very correct Ms. of *Vyāvahāramātykā* of Jimūtavāhana has of late been secured by the Parishat, only three not very correct copies of which important book were known when the late Sir Asutosh Mukherji edited it in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. There is an interesting work in this section the *Vivādārṇava* which is ascribed to the Pandits of one province though no particular place is mentioned.

In Tantras there is quite a good collection of both original *Tantras* and later *Nibandhas* or compilations, the latter including many new and hitherto unknown works. The oldest tantra Ms. is *Kaulikārcanāṭpikā* copied in ś. E. 1400 (1478 A.D.). Mention must be made of one copy of *Kulārṇava tantra* in twelve paṭalas which is different from the one already published. We have a copy of *Tantrasūtra-paraśiṣṭa* by Rāmānanda Yati whose another work we have is *Bṛhat-tantrasūtra*.

The collection of Purāṇa Mss. cannot be said to be satisfactory. There is no very old Ms. in this section the oldest being a copy of *Kriyāyogasūtra* of Padmapurāṇa copied in ś. E. 1640 (1718 A.D.). Of the commentaries on the Mahābhārata we have *Bhāratārthadīpikā* of Arjuna Miśra, *Virodhabhañjanīṭikā* of Rāma-kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya, *Mahābhārataṭīkā* of Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara, and a *Bhāratadīpikāvṛkhyā* which comments only on the difficult points. There is a copy of the *Purāṇasarvasva* of Kuladhara, composed in ś. E. 1396 (1474 A.D.).

Of the few Bengali Mss. reference should be made to a fragmentary metrical Bengali summary of the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja which runs up to the *Rājagrhayukti* in our Ms. There is no mention of the name of the translator. We have also a copy of a *Rogaprayoga*, a medical work in Bengali and a *Bhāṣāsamkṣepīśaucaprakaraṇa* which in Bengali gives the rules of *śauca*.

back' is *vinivartana* (Ibid.) ; *upāyaññānaṃ* cannot be rendered by 'knowing all sciences and arts' : *upāya* has a very particular meaning in *Mahāyāna* works. I think that, although it corresponds to the Chinese character used for rendering the Sanskrit word, it is not advisable to translate *anūsāya* by "messengers" (p. 239). To the literature on the *Daśabhūmika* can be added the *Shi-ti-king-lung-i-ki* by Hwei-Yüan of the Sui dynasty.

P. TUCCI

STUDIES IN INDIAN PAINTING—a survey of some new material ranging from the commencement of the VIIth century to circa 1870 A.D. by Nānālāl Chamanlāl Mehta, I.C.S. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1926, (pp. 127, plates—17 colour & 44 half-tone).

The work is not only a sumptuously produced volume but is a real contribution to our knowledge of Indian art charmingly written by an enthusiastic scholar. The first chapter of the book on the Sittanavāsāl frescoes is of absorbing interest though we wonder whether the coloured reproductions of the wall-paintings are at all true to their originals either in draughtsmanship or in colouring. By far the most interesting chapters are those on secular painting in Guzarat and the painted epistle of Śālivāhana ; the latter is a document of considerable value in the history of Indian art and its publication by Mr. Mehta increases the measure of gratitude of students of Indian art to him already great owing to his having first called attention to the *Vasanta Vilāsa* in a contribution to "Rūpam". We are glad to note that Mr. Mehta now considers that it is "very probable that the art, as exemplified in the pictures of *Vasanta Vilāsa* and the Jaina manuscripts, was a popular form of pictorial expression." We ourselves recognised this long ago and have said elsewhere that those are "in reality survivals of the early art expression of the people of Rajputana."

While Mr. Mehta is entitled to praise the "*Rāsmaṇḍala*" and "*Govardhandhāraṇa*" reproduced by him, we must say that he does less than justice to the immense painting on cloth of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopikās dancing in the Jaipur Pothikhana, wonderful in the freshness of its colouring and the charm of its drawing, when he speaks of it as a masterpiece worthy to rank with the pictures of the "*Rāsmaṇḍala*" and "*Govardhandhāraṇa*." We share Mr. Mehta's regret that

REVIEWS

DAŚABHŪMIKA-SŪTRAM—Seventh Stage (reprint from Acta Orientalia, vol. iv). Edited by J. Rahder.

This work was sufficiently popular among the Mahāyānists and was considered as a text-book of the Bhūmiśāstra sect which was flourishing in China specially during the Liang Dynasty. The editor of this book says at page 218 that we already knew some facts of it, as Prof. L. de la Vallée Poussin had the opportunity of publishing large abstracts of the first six bhūmis (Muséon, 1907, 1910, 1911, *Théorie des douze causes*, Louvain, 1913). Therefore M. Rahder began its edition with the seventh *bhūmi*, the most important indeed, because, as already stated in the Mahāvastu, that a Bodhisattva in the first six bhūmis can fall back, but from the seventh onwards he becomes *anivartanīya*. As to the date of composition of the Sūtra, M. Rahder refers to the Mahāvastu and the Lalitavistara and to Nāgārjuna's commentary to the first two bhūmis (Nanjio, 1110). We know that the Mahāsaṅghikas were the first to elaborate a theory of the bhūmis (Wassiljew, *Buddhismus*, p. 202). We find the doctrine already expounded in the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra of Nāgārjuna. In fact we can see that this theory can not be dissociated from the Prajñāpāramitā literature although from the comparison of the various texts it is evident that the Buddhists did not arrive immediately at a uniformity of schemes, at least regarding the classification and the characteristics of the various *bhūmis*. The double classification to be met with already in the Mahāvastu is the best proof of this.¹

The edition by M. Rahder is a very accurate one ; he has compared a large number of texts and has added abstracts from the Tibetan translation of the text. He has paid attention also to the Mongolian translation of our work. His philosophical *acribieia* deserves therefore every praise. Some observations of detail : (p. 217) (shi-hwei-hsiang) 10 returns, cannot be rendered by *daśa pariṇāmāni*, the term for 'return' or 'falling

1 I have pointed out this fact in my *Storia del Buddhismo in India*. In the English edition of it I have taken the question again with new materials, trying to trace out the history and the evolution of the doctrine.

the small reproductions of these two last named paintings are wholly inadequate and unimpressive. Our author is rather hard on Dr. Coomaraswamy for having published a "bazar version" of the dance of the Gopikās. We, on the other hand, cannot but express our regret for Mr. Mehta's having selected two of the minor portraits in the Jaipur Pothikhana for his encomium on Rajput portraiture and for reproduction, omitting all reference to the great full size portraits, among which is the striking full length portrait of the founder of Jaipur undoubtedly the finest Rajput portrait in the Jaipur Palace.

Of great importance is the chapter on the Bundela School, though there are older and infinitely finer specimens than Mr. Mehta's plates which await reproduction.

Molārām was the only painter of Garhwāl, whose name had hitherto been known to us. Mr. Mehta has introduced us to two others, but interesting as their work is, Molārām is decidedly their superior and we would have liked to have Mr. Mehta's opinion on him. We are sorry to see him endorse the supercilious criticism that a "fictitious importance" has been attained by Molārām owing to the fact that he is almost the only Pāhāri painter known by name. The art of Garhwāl is distinctive and should be more thoroughly studied instead of being vaguely confused with Kāngra art as has hitherto been done.

In chapter vi and viii Mr. Mehta deals with examples of Moghul art. We do not agree with the author's sweeping criticism that "Moghul painting under Akbar remained an art of servile imitation and petty illustration." The art of Akbar's court is Indo-Persian art; the really distinctive Moghul art which excelled in portraiture principally begins, so far as available examples show, with Jahangir, though here again we must not forget the great album of portraits of which Abul Fazl speaks. We do not understand the force of "remained." Does Mr. Mehta imply that there was any Moghul art as such under either Humayun or Babar? Again, neither the Hamzah nor the Razmnamah, though ostensibly inspired by Persian art, were in any sense servile imitations nor is there any pettiness in the work of those who conceived and executed their magnificent paintings. But for the similarity of technique with the older Persian masters they are extremely original and their brilliant perfection of technique does not make them mere imitations. We are convinced that Abul Fazl was referring with large-hearted enthusiasm to them when he wrote of "masterpieces worthy of Bihzad," and he was not anticipating, as

Mr. Mehta naively suggests, the achievements of a subsequent reign. Those who have examined the Razmnamah and not derived their knowledge of it solely from reproductions cannot but be amazed at the surprising beauty of an art which Mr. Mehta calls "arid examples of the illuminator's skill." But our admiration for the Razmnamah does not blind us to the excellence of the court art of Jahangir and we are in thorough agreement with Mr. Mehta's eloquent tribute to it. Abul Hassan's trotting bullocks magnificently reproduced by Mr. Mehta is a little gem but it was the Razmnamah and similar works executed by Akbar's court-painters which made it possible for Jahangir to possess an Abul Hassan and we need not scour China and Persia for the sources of Abul Hassan's inspiration. There are in fact very spirited representations of the same subject by Basawan, Dharma Das and others in the South Kensington manuscript of the Akbarnamah. However, Mr. Mehta is in general a very fair critic, as witness his observation when discussing the floral paintings of Mansur that his work "cannot bear comparison with the creations of the Far Eastern artists." We certainly prefer Mansur's superb paintings of bird life.

Mr. Mehta's studies really end with p. 84 and had he put "Finis" to it there his book would have been well worth its full value. But he has presented us in the second portion of his book headed "Notes on Plates" with an album of pictures. Among the specimens of Moghul art plates 38, 39 and 40 are good examples. The illustrations of the Hindu schools are, except plates 51 and 54, common-place and do not add much to the value of the book.

There are several small imperfections which should be corrected in a future edition. An unfortunate misprint in the chapter "Some Jaipur Pictures" makes the renaissance in Hindu art date from the 'eighteenth century'. The reference to a picture of a game of polo as having been painted by Mehr Chand (by the way, we do not like the spelling; the son of Ganga Ram was probably called Mihir Chand) on p. 105 is wrong. Kühnel has not described this picture as being that artist's work but the painting of the worship of the *liṅga*, which Mr. Mehta has omitted to mention. We do not know where he got the information regarding the Durgā Pāṭha pictures in the Ghose Collection or who described them as scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but no reliance should have been placed on information acquired second-hand. Again on p. 75 footnote he has been content to obtain second-hand information though he could readily have obtained the quotation, which is in verse in the original, from the book publish-

ed by Dr. Coomaraswami : "Burning and Melting, being the Suz-u-Gudaz of Muhammad Riza Nau'i." The names of owners of all the paintings reproduced have not been given ; the proper place for such information is below the plate and not in a footnote to the list of illustrations. A fuller index would have enhanced the usefulness of the book.

We congratulate Mr. Mehta on his beautiful production. The reproductions are excellent and we give our unstinted praise to the colour plates. The format is delightful. The printing by the Times of India Press demonstrates that work of equal merit to the best produced in England can be done out here, and that so cheaply that it has been possible to price this very handsome volume at Rs. 56/- only. We only wish there were more such books on the fascinating subject of Indian art.

AJIT GHOSE

KANĀRAKER VIVARAN or A Descriptive Account of Kanārak. By Nirmal Kumar Basu. Published by Priyaranjan Sen Gupta. 69B, Townsend Road, Calcutta.

This book does not belong to the class of popular books on travel which generally are a hopeless conglomeration of historical, mythological and legendary matters of very little use to those who have a mind to gather any critical and scientific information on any of these points. It is the result of a prolonged study on the spot of the important ruins of Kanārak (Orissa) undertaken by the author especially from the standpoint of architecture and iconography. True, the subject has already received a good deal of attention at the hands of various scholars at various times. But this fact does not, in any way, diminish the value of this new publication. The author has, for long, been engaged in the study of Oriya Architecture from local text books and architectural ruins. The first fruit of his diligent study was published in the form of a paper in Bengali—*Uḍiyā Śilpasastra* in vol. XIII of the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University. In the present publication our author makes an attempt to apply his theoretical knowledge of Oriya architecture to the description of the temples at Kanārak. In doing that he has had to make use of terms found in local books on architecture and (in the

words of the author) still used by Oriya artisans. These terms with their meanings have been given in the form of an index at the end of the book, thus supplying food for thought and study to the student of Philology. Such terms of common use among every class of artisans in the different provinces of India are fast going out of use and it is high time that they were collected and preserved. The author has therefore done a real service by putting them together in one place. Of course a book like this, full of uncouth terms and confusing details cannot expect to have any claim to popularity but we can confidently commend it to the notice of scholars who can derive much help from this book for further study. One thing we should say to the author in conclusion. It is that the book stands in need of improvement in language in some places. We have every hope that he will make such improvement before he brings out a second edition.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

L' INDE ET LE MONDE by Sylvain Levi, Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926, pp. 175).

M. Sylvain Levi is well-known in India personally as well as in the capacity of a writer. But not much of his ideas have filtered down to us. In the first place, like those of other western scholars the results of his investigations are published as a rule in the journals. And these hardly reach us. In the second place, the language barrier was up till now a prohibitive hindrance. And although of late, French has been annexed to the scholarship of Young India, the results are as yet but meagre and almost unmentionable.

Finally, antiquarians and philologists fight generally shy of larger issues,—the elucidation of sociological, cultural and allied historical perspectives. And *M.* Levi, although quite a humanist even in his archæological researches, is not an exception to the run of traditional orientalist.

It is, therefore, as a great service to the students of Indian history, both cultural and otherwise, that the author's small book of essays on India in relation to the World entitled *L' Inde et le Monde* is to be appreciated by scholars. The volume is made up of the following chapters: (1) India and the World, (2) Buddhist humanism, (3) Brāhmanic

civilization, (4) Buddhist civilization, (5) Orient and Occident: essay on humanism and (6) Eastern humanism. The last paper is in English and was an address delivered in the University of Dacca in February 1922.

The papers are historical no doubt, but we may approach them as "literary essays". Lévi's style is embodiment of "French lucidity" and is a fine specimen of contemporary prose such as one is familiar with in the leading dailies or monthlies and lectures or sermons of France.

Professor Lévi emphasizes what is now getting more and more adequately recognized on all hands that like all other ancient civilizations, Indian civilization also was greatly a "collective work" of the entire world and that "spontaneous generation" is unknown to history. It is curious, however, to remember what the author does not make it a point to mention that the "puerile conception" of India having grown up in an alleged "splendid isolation" originated in the West and not in the East. And, therefore, if some of the Indians of today are sicklied over with the chauvinistic conceptions of ancient Indian "originality," "spontaneity," "superiority" and so forth, it is the Western masters who are to blame for having furnished the unscientific cue.

Lévi's analysis of "national genius" as functioning essentially in a critical manner in regard to the international influences is happy. But he seems to be a little bit too mystical, although in spite of himself, when he uses expressions like a "nation being similar to the individuals in possessing a heart and a brain." This is not likely to be swallowed in toto by the representatives of neo-positive and pluralistic sociology.

The author asks the question at one place as follows: "Ou faut-il chercher le centre de l'Inde?" (Where should one seek the centre of India?) and he finds the answer nowhere. One might retort by asking the same question about the centre of Europe, America, or for that matter, of any vast territory. The fallacy consists in postulating India to be a country like France, England, nay, like Normandy, Wales, etc. and then not finding the things—an ethnical unity, a linguistic unity, and a geographical unity,—that one finds, for instance, in one or other of the *onze régions économiques* (eleven economic regions) of France such as modern French geographers are wont to describe.

The facts of India's intercourse with the world from the Mediterra-

near to the Pacific are now well-known. But Lévi's message to the effect that it is only by exposing themselves to tremendous perils that Indians can afford today to isolate themselves from the "movements of universal civilization" has need to be reiterated even today. For consciously or unconsciously, there is a class of scholars as well as publicists, and some of them pretend even to be philosophers,—who find nothing in the civilization of the modern West to be worth imbibing for India and of course who propagate among their clientele the notion, false as it is, that Indian civilization of yore was an autochthonous, *sui generis*, "typical," "peculiar" and "characteristic" phenomenon of the East with hardly any affinities to the world-forces. These hyper-nationalists forget that India owes quite a deal to the world, not less than the world owes to her.

Lévi's message is to this extent not only scientific but liberalizing as well. It is good to be taught in season and out of season that India has played her part in world-history like the rest of mankind and in co-operation with the rest of mankind, and that every group, race, or nation is in its actions as in its thoughts, in its knowledge as in its instincts but an integral part of entire humanity. This aspect of Lévi's essays should possess a dynamic significance for the scholars and patriots of our country.

But Lévi discusses the achievements of Europe since the Renaissance and remarks that "no Champollion has yet even been met with outside the countries of the Renaissance." He therefore takes a very energetic stand against "the error which today weighs heavy upon the world." The alleged error is committed by those who believe that it is "possible to borrow of the Occident its technical processes in order to imitate it, be its equal, and finally to compete with it." Against this notion Lévi believes that neither Chinese empiricism, nor Hindu reverie nor Musalman fatalism is conducive to the spirit of faith in observation and experiment which sustains a Galileo and a Pasteur (p. 131).

The reader, however, is sure to be puzzled by this conclusion of Lévi's. For, the author has stated at pp. 134-135 that until the Renaissance, the Orient and the Occident possessed common characteristics and exhibited the "same mysticism, the mysticism of salvation." Both in the East and the West mankind sought and followed during entire historic epochs "the path which leads after death to the eternity of bliss, paradise of the elect, absorption in God, total extinction."

If there was no distinction in spirit between the East and the West for centuries, naturally it would not be scientific to postulate a typical Occidental world-view or claim that the spirit of the Renaissance which has been displaying its results in recent times in the Western World should fail to make its appearance even among the Chinese, Hindus and Musalmans. And as a matter of actual history, the objective facts of modern and contemporary Asia tell their own tale in regard to the identity between the East and the West, down to the latest items of labour-psychology, factory legislation and proletarian democracy, things which were unknown in France, Germany, America and England previous to 1815-75.

M. Lévi's interpretation of world-culture is in this respect but a chip of the traditional *orientalisme*, which it has been the function of modern anthropology and social science to challenge and discard inch by inch. And his contribution to contemporary world-politics is likewise quite in keeping with orthodox colonialism. He advises the "white race that it must, to speak in the manner of Kipling, accept the burden in a virile manner." (p. 147).

It is not possible to translate or summarize all the essays. But some of the leading ideas of the author will have been clear in the above presentation.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

PAVANADŪTAM of Dhoyī edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A., Kāvyaīrtha, Sanskrit Sahitya Parisat, Calcutta, 1926 (pp. 38+36).

During the Sena period in Bengal there was a remarkable growth of Sanskrit culture and specially in the reign of her last king, Lakṣmaṇa Sena (1200 A. D.) in whose court there were some great poets one of them being Dhoyī, the author of the *Pavanadūta*. Besides some verses found in different anthologies he seems to have composed other work or works, of which we know nothing excepting the present volume, the *Pavanadūta*. That he is a poet of uncommon power is quite evident from his writings. Some of his verses are exceptionally excellent. Yet, we are afraid, his epithet of *Kavirāja* is not fully justifiable. The nature of the present work is implied by the name itself and can easily be imagined by one familiar with Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* on the imitation of which a great number of such poems have sprung up in Sanskrit

literature. The editor has told us elsewhere¹ that the number has come to not less than thirty five.

Speaking briefly, the *Pavanadūtā* 'Wind-messenger' describes how Kuvalayavatī, a Gandhara damsel "on the Malaya hills fell in love with king Lakṣmaṇasena of Gauḍa," "and how the girl unable to bear the pangs of love" "made a messenger of the spring wind" "to relate to the Bengal King the miserable condition to which she was reduced."

The work was edited for the first time by the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti in *JASB.*, 1905, and now we have a new edition before us. The present editor has not only given us a far better edition but also has tried to make it useful in every respect. He has added an ably written critical and historical introduction discussing various questions regarding the author and his work, and short notes in Sanskrit which are undoubtedly helpful though not quite satisfactory attempting more to quote synonyms from lexicons than to explain difficult points. He has really given us much for which we must remain thankful to him, but we had naturally the right of demanding a little more. We have not the least doubt in saying that he has spared no pains to make the edition quite satisfactory, but, we are afraid, he could not pay adequate attention to his entire work. The Supplementary Note (pp. 27-32) giving the verses attributed to Dhoyī which are found in anthologies and not in the *Pavanadūtā* and collected in a paper (*JASB.*, 1905, pp. 18ff.) by Manmohan Chakravarti (=M) from which they are now culled here, is edited very badly. For instance, we may note the following :

On p. [30] we read :

प्रियायाः प्रत्यूषे गलितकवरोबन्धनविधा-
 बुदबुददीर्घं स्त्रीदरचलितलोलाच्चलमुः ।
 वनाद्रूपे पश्यत्यथ मयि समन्दाच्चलितं
 नमन्यास्तद्रूपं यदि लिखितुमीशी मनसिजः ॥

What is the meaning of *lola* used after *calita* in the second line ? And what does the whole line mean ? We think, the reading *lola* can in no way be accepted, as it does not give here any suitable sense. The true reading appears to us to be either *cola* 'bodice' or *cela* cloth, preferably the latter. Accordingly the thought here is that the bodice or the 'cloth' (*cola* or *cela*) moved a little (*daracalita*) from the bosom (*uras*) of the lady, and thus it was uncovered. We are glad

to note that the reading *urah* suggested by the editor for which the variants are *mbaruh* and *mvarah* is the true reading. Now, the question is regarding *vanadrūte* in the third line which has no meaning whatever. The other readings are *ghanādyūte*, *ghanādrūte*, and *vanādrute*. The reading *vanādrūte* is suggested by the editor evidently following the last reading given above only to make the third syllable long for the sake of the metre, though he himself knows that "the reading is hopelessly corrupt here." What reading then can be suggested? When the bosom of the beloved lady (*priyā*) was uncovered what could the man possibly see? Evidently it is her breast (*stana*) or something related to it. Accordingly the reading must be one that can express the idea, and we may suggest two words, *stanādyotam* 'brilliance of the breast,' or *stanābhogam* 'extension of the breast.'

On p. [31] occurs the following śloka :

पश्चात् खुरक्षितयस्त्रिष्टुतभूमिभाग-
मूर्ध्नि कृताय चरणद्वयमुपग्रे पम् ।
मूर्धावगाहनविघ्ननिजाश्वारवम्
आराज्जनः परिग्रहत् खल्लत्तुरङ्गम् ॥

In *b* between the two readings *heṣam* and *hreṣam* we see no reason for giving preference to the latter, though somehow or other it can be metrically defended. The main question here is with regard to the meaning of *c* and *khalan turāṅgam* in *d*. What are we to understand by them? As the description is of a running horse we should like to read *calan* (= *calam*) or *calat turāṅgam* in *d*. There is a root, *khal* (Nir., III., 10) 'to move, or shake,' the present participle of which is *khalan* 'shaking, and this can be taken with *janah*. In that case we shall have to read *khalam sturāṅgam*. At any rate *khalan* cannot be admitted. Nor give the words *mūrdha*, and *āśvarāva* any appropriate sense here in *c*. As regards *āśvarāva* it may mean 'neighing,' but we have it already in the word *ugraheṣa* (or *hreṣa* in *b*. It cannot therefore, be repeated here. In fact the word *āśvarāva* is a misreading for *āśvavāra* which means 'a horse man' (see *Māgha's Śiśupālavadha*, III. 66 with the *Tikā* of Mallinātha : "āśvān vārayanti ye te 'śvavārā āśvārohāḥ). For *mūrdha* we are inclined to read *ūrdhva*. Thus the whole line reads : ऊर्ध्वावगाहनविघ्ननिजाश्वारवम्, meaning that the rider was confounded when the animal was trying to move upwards.

On the same page we read :

निद्राजिग्रहशः सखिष्वपि सर्वैर्लक्ष्या नखाद्वरण-
व्यादृष्टां शुकलेखया प्रतिपदं शीर्षकारिवक्त्रेन्दवः

Here as well as in M. from which it is taken, *vyādaṣṭām śukalekḥayā* is a misreading giving no sense whatever. These two words must be joined together reading *vyādaṣṭāmśukalekḥayā*. In this connection we may say that Dhoyī has partly taken the thought of the present śloka from Māgha's *Śiṣupālavadhā*, XI. 54 which runs :

सरसमखपदान्तदैष्टकेशप्रसोक्तं
प्रणयिनि विदधाने योषितासुलसन्त्यः ।
विदधति दशनानां सीत्कृताविकृताना-
मभिनवरविभासः पद्मरागाशुकारम् ॥

On pp. [27-28] we have :

तस्यास्त्वदेकमनसः स्मरबाणवर्षैः
कार्ष्णं वपुः शठ विभर्ति यथा यथै
स्त्रीकायितश्रेयसयेव तथा तथैव
कान्तिर्धनीभवति दीर्घविलोचनायाः ॥

Here in *c* the reading *stokāyitāśreyatayeve* is wrong not only metrically but also grammatically. It does not, however, appear to be "hopelessly corrupt" as the editor thinks. Undoubtedly the actual reading is *stokāyitāśrayatayeve*.

One of the most excellent ślokas of Dhoyī given on p. [28] is :

संरुद्धाः कथमप्यमङ्गलभयात् पद्मान्तरव्यापिनोऽ
प्यतालीकृतलोचनं निपुण्या वापाश्रसां विन्दवः ।
न्यसन्त्याः सहकारपल्लवमथ न्यानम्य पल्लवः पुरी
धारावाहिभिरेव लोचनजलैर्योवाघटः पूरितः ॥

In the second line what is the meaning of the word *uttālīkṛta* which is found also in M ? It has no meaning here. The fact is that one should read here *uttālī°* for *uttālī*.

Here we want to note one thing. In the above śloka (see also ślokas 62, 63, 74, 88, 89) the editor writes *vāṣpa* and *vinḍu* not *bāṣpa* and *bindu* respectively. On p. [32] and in the śloka 74 he has also *vimba* and not *bimba*. Though both the forms may be found in Mss. or printed books, the form with *b* and not with *v* at the beginning is preferable being used by authoritative writers. In the word *trivālī* three folds of skin over a woman's navel (regarded as a beauty) it is actually *v* and so it is rightly used in the śloka, *tāsām pīna°*, p. [29] ; but on the same page in the ślokas *ahan tanṣyān°* and *romāvalī°*, as well as in the main work in the śloka 111 the word is with *b* and not *v* as it should have been.

As regards the second śloka in the Supplementary Note, p. [27], *jātā latāvad dhanuḥ* seems to be a doubtful reading. May one read *na tāvad* for *latāvad* ? Cf. the śloka 66 of the *Pavanaḍṛita*.

In the text the following śloka (28) occurs after the description of the *Suhma-dēśa* :

तस्मिन् सनान्वयवृत्तिना देवराज्याभिषिक्तो
देवः सुमे वसति कमलाकैलिकारो मुरारिः ।

Here in the second line for *suhme* there are three readings in three Mss, viz. *sākṣād* (M), *sukṣād* (R), and *suhmād* (A). "But in the last" *suhmād* "is corrected into *suhme*" "in the margin." And the editor has accepted it. But we cannot agree with him. The actual reading seems to be nothing but *sākṣād* on three grounds. First, the word *tasmīn* is quite sufficient to refer to the *Suhmadeśa* and so to write *Suhma* again is mere superfluous. Secondly, we think, by using the word *sākṣād*, the poet wanted to lay emphasis that Deva Murāri was living there *personally*, as he has actually done in the śloka 55 with reference to Deva Manasija. Thirdly, this expression like a good many others of Dhoyī is evidently based on the *Meghadūta*, the passage there being as follows (II. 10) :

देव' मत्वा धनपतिसखं यत् साक्षाद् वसन्तम् ।

One should read *ratīs* for *ratēs* (śl. 26) and *sāraṅgākṣyā* for *śārāṅgyākṣyāḥ* (śl. 65).

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

BHĀRATĪYA ITIHĀS KĀ BHAUGALIK ĀDHĀR. By Jay Candra Vidyālaṅkāra. Publishers : Hindi Bhavan, Lahore. 104 pages.

The book is written in simple Hindi about the geographical position of India, ancient and modern. The author's treatment of some of the sections is not exhaustive, e. g., his sections on 'Vindhyamekhalā' and 'Himālaya aur paścimottara ki parbatamālā.' He ought to have discussed the correctness of the geographical information contained in the Mahāgovinda-sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka. The plan of the whole work should be altered and the discussions ought to be fuller. He has written a section on 'Uttarabhāratiya Maidān' which aims at no definite conclusion nor does he assert the geographical value, if any, of ancient Indian traditions although he has not failed to utilise them in his work.

B. C. LAW

SANKṢIPTA JAINA ITIHĀSA—This booklet is written in simple Hindi. It consists of six chapters of which the following are interesting :—The Life of Ṛṣabhadeva and other Jaina greatmen ; Sayings or Precepts recorded in the 12 Aṅgas and some principles of Jainism. The book is useful to the beginners. It would have been useful to scholars if the author had given full quotations of the passages to which he refers. Mr. Jain has written a big Prastāvanā which is not so interesting.

B. C. LAW

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. VIII, pt. ii.

PRALHAD C. DIVANJI.—Madhusūdāna Sarasvatī ; his life and works. The date of Madhusūdāna has been assigned to the sixteenth century A.C. and his place of nativity sought in Koṭālīpādā in Bengal.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—Magadha and Rājagṛha in the Pāli Literature.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY.—The original Site of Mehrauli Pillar. The Viṣṇupada hill mentioned in the inscription itself as the place of erection of the Pillar has been located at Hardwar in U.P. and the person who removed the Pillar from its original site to Delhi where it is at present is suggested to be Firozshah.

SITANATH PRADHANA.—Apotheosis in the Ṛg-veda. That some powerful human chieftains were deified in the hymns of the Ṛg-veda has been shown in this paper by illustrating the case of Bṛhaspati, who had been, by a gradual process, exalted to the position of a god by the Ṛg-vedic poets.

B. M. BARUA.—Ājīvaka—what it means. The writer of this article is of opinion that originally the term *ājīvika* used to be applied only to the followers of Makkhali Gosāla, who distinguished his order from *Achelakas* in general by this new designation originating from the idea of *sammā ājīva*, 'the right means of livelihood'.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—Can we fix the date of Kālidāsa more accurately? From a discussion of the political condition of India referred to in the sixth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*, the author of this note has come to the conclusion that Kālidāsa could not have lived during the reign of either Candragupta II or Skandagupta and must have flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.C.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. iv, pt. ii.

SUSIL KUMAR DE.—Notes on some Sanskrit Mss. on Alaṅkāra.

LIONEL D. BARNETT.—Jānakīharaṇa, XVI. This is the sixteenth canto of the *Jānakīharaṇa* of which the first 15 cantos have already been edited.

V. VENKTARĀMA ŚARMĀ ŚĀSTRĪ.—Ajāmīla-mokṣa-prabandha of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. This little campū work of the sixteenth century has been edited here.

Indian Antiquary, October, 1926.

HANNES SKÖLD.—The Relative Chronology of Pāṇini and the Prātiśākhya. The author maintains that there is no conclusive evidence to support Max Müller's view that the *R̥k-Prātiśākhya* is older than Pāṇini nor are proofs available to contradict the opinion of Goldstücker, Westergaard, and Pischel holding that the Prātiśākhya in general are posterior to that grammarian.

Ibid., November and December, 1926.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—Vedic Studies. Evidently the purpose of this continued article is to discuss the interpretations of some particular words, showing their uses in the texts.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxi, No. 1.

SUKUMAR SEN.—Notes on the Use of the Cases in the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—(1) Data from the Sumaṅgalavilāsini.

(2) Aṅga and Campā in the Pāli Literature.

AMARESWAR THAKUR.—Jail Administration in Ancient India.

BRAJA LAL MUKHERJI.—(1) The Vṛātyas and their Sacrifices. The writer of this paper is of opinion that in the vedic society, men neglecting or defying Vaidik precepts were called Vṛātyas or disorderly people, who only after the performance of certain sacrifices could be allowed to enjoy the rights of the vedic community.

(2) The word "Vṛā" in the Ṛg-veda.

(3) Atharva Veda, Kāṇḍa, xv.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB.—(1) Mede and Madra. This is an attempt to identify the Medes mentioned in the Assyrian and Greek records with the Madras of the Brāhmaṇa Literature:

(2) When Kurus fought the Pāṇḍavas. Inference has been drawn that the Kurus fought the Pāṇḍavas about 1400 B.C.

(3) The Five-yearly Yuga and the Saptar̥ṣi Cycle.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Sept., 1926.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—Asura Expansion by Sea. The courses along which the expansion of the Asura settlements took place in India in the south and by and beyond the seas, and the process of

Aryanisation of the tribe has been discussed in this article. Sanskrit extracts from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* relating to the war between the Devas and the Asuras have been appended to it.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.—The Successive Events in the Reign of Dharmapāladeva.

KALIPADA MITRA.—The Story of a Fool and its Sanskrit and Buddhist Parallel. From a comparison of a particular story found in the Chinese *Po-yu-king* with that in the *Kathāsaritsūgarā*, and from a table of comparisons illustrating similarities occurring in other stories, it has been shown that the "Indian originals of the apologues found in the *Po-yu-king*, composed by Saṃghasena (450 A.D.) and translated by K' ieu-na-p'i-ti (Guṇavṛddhi), floated down the stream of time and reached Somadeva who treasured them" in the *Kathāsaritsūgarā*.

MANOMOHAN GANGULY.—Indian Architecture.

Journal of Oriental Research, January, 1927.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.—(1) Problems of Identity in the Cultural History of Ancient India. The portion of the article appearing in this issue discusses the identity of Ācārya Sundara the reputed author of verses quoted by Kumārila and Śaṅkara.

(2) Bhadanta. The word *Bhadanta* referring to Buddhist mendicants has been derived from the root *bhad* "to be auspicious or happy."

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM.—The Authorship of the Uṇādi Sūtras. The authorship of the Uṇādi Sūtras has been attributed to Śākaṭāyana belonging to the pre-Pāṇinian period, but new sūtras are believed to have been added to the original by grammatical writers after Pāṇini.

T. R. CHINTAMANL.—The Date of Śrīkaṇṭha and his Brahma-mīmāṃsā. Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of the *Sivārkanandīpikā* on the *Brahmasūtra* has been assigned a date posterior to Rāmānuja.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1926

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—The Later Śātavāhanas and the Śakas. The writer after weighing the various evidences and arguments put forward by various well-known writers on the topic concludes that "Nahapāna was in possession of all N. Mahārāṣṭra, Konkan, Gujarat,

and Malwa at the end of the first century B. C. and retained it up to the end of the first century A. D. or very early in the second when Gautamīputra Śatakarni uprooted the race of the Khakarātas and restored the glory of the Śātavāhanakula. The territories so recovered continued to belong to the Śātavāhanas under Gautamīputra and Pulumavi. It may be noted that Kachcha, where we find the earliest evidence of Castana's rule, is not among the territories mentioned in the conquests of Gautamīputra. But there is no doubt that the advance of Śātavāhana power received a check and the ebb tide commenced probably late in the reign of Pulumavi, during the rule of Castana as Mahākṣatrapa. Castana was followed by a vigorous grandson, and Pulumavi's successors were unable to hold their own against Rudradāman, and they lost considerable territories in N. Mahārāṣṭra, Konkan, Gujarat, etc., to him (c. A. D. 150). Henceforth, but for some slight recovery under Yajña Śatakarni, the Śātavāhana power collapses in the west of the Dekkan, abandoning the northern districts to the Kṣatrapas and the southern parts to the feudatories of the Cūtu dynasty, who now become prominent and find their power confined to the east for some time before its extinction by the rise of other powers like the Ikṣvākus and the Pallavas."

sampāditabhojanāṃ paribhuttam pi sammā paripākaṃ gacchati. Tena sattā arogā dīghāyukā honti. Evam utubhojanavasena āyu vaḍḍhati.

Tattha Vipassī bhagavā asītivassasahassāyukakāle nibbatto. Sikkhī bhagavā¹ sattativassasahassāyukakāle ti. Idam anupubbena parihīnasadisāṃ kataṃ, na pana evaṃ parihīnaṃ, vaḍḍhitvā vaḍḍhitvā parihīnaṃ ti veditabbaṃ. Katham? Imasmiṃ tava² bhaddakappe Kakusandho bhagavā cattālisavassasahassāyukakāle nibbatto, āyupamāṇaṃ pañcakoṭṭhāse katvā cattāri tthavā pañcame vijjamāne yeva parinibbuto. Tam āyuparihāyamānaṃ dasavassakālaṃ patvā puna vaḍḍhamānaṃ asaṃkheyyaṃ hutvā tato parihāyamānaṃ tīṇsavassasahassakāle tthitaṃ. Tadā Konāgamano bhagavā nibbatto. Tasmim pi tath' eva parinibbute tam āyu dasavassakālaṃ patvā puna vaḍḍhamānaṃ asaṃkheyyaṃ hutvā parihāyitvā visativassasahassakāle tthitaṃ. Tadā Kassapo bhagavā nibbatto. Tasmim pi tath' eva parinibbute tam āyu dasavassakālaṃ patvā puna vaḍḍhamānaṃ asaṃkheyyaṃ hutvā parihāyitvā vassasatakālaṃ pat-
taṃ. Atha amlhākaṃ Sambuddho nibbatto. Evam anupubbena parihāyitvā parihāyitvā vaḍḍhitvā vaḍḍhitvā parihīnanti veditabbaṃ. Tattha yaṃ yaṃ āyuparimāṇesu³ manussesu Buddhā nibbattanti tesam pi taṃ tad eva āyuparimāṇaṃ hoti ti veditabbaṃ. Āyupari-
chedo niṭṭhito.

8. Bodhiparicchede pana *Pāṭaliyā mūle* ti Pāṭalirukkhassa heṭṭhā. Tassā pana Pāṭaliyā khandho taṃ divasaṃ paṇṇāsaratano hutvā abbhuggato sākhā paṇṇāsaratanaṃ ti ubbedhena ratanasatam ahoṣi. Taṃ divasaṃ ca sā Pāṭali kaṇṇikāvaddhehi viya pupphehi mūlato paṭṭhāya ekacchannā ahoṣi. Dibbagandhaṃ vāyati. Na kevalaṃ ca tadā ayaṃ eva pupphitā; dasasahassacakkavāle sabbapāṭaliyo pupphitā; na kevalaṃ ca Pāṭaliyo; dasasahassacakkavāle sabbarukkhānaṃ khandhesu khandha-padumāni, sākhāsu sākhā-padumāni, latāsu latā-padumāni, ākāsesu ākāsa-padumāni pupphitāni. Paṭhavitalaṃ bhinditvā pi mahāpadumāni utṭhitāni. Mahāsamuddo pi pañcavaṇṇehi padumehi niluppala-rattuppalehi ca sañchanno ahoṣi. Sakaladasasahassacakkavālaṃ dhajamālākulaṃ tattha tattha nibaddha-puppha-dāma-visaṭṭha-mālā-⁴guṇavippakiṇṇaṃ nānāvaṇṇa-kusuma samujjalaṃ Nandana-vana-Cittalatāvana-Missakavana-Phārusakavana-sadisam ahoṣi. Puratthima-cakkavāle mukhavaṭṭiyam⁵ ussitadhajā pacchima-cakkavāla-

1 B. omits it

2 Si. & B. omit it

3 S. āyuvuḍḍhipamāṇesu

B. -gulam

mukhavatṭṭiyam abhihananti. Pacchima-dakkhiṇa-uttara-cakkavāla-mukhavatṭṭiyam ussitadhajā dakkhiṇacakkavāla-mukhavatṭṭiyam abhihananti. Evam aññamaññaṃ sirisampannāni¹ cakkavālāni ahesuṃ.

Abhisambuddho ti sakalaṃ buddhaḡuṇavibhavasirīṃ paṭivijjhamāno cattārī saccāni abhisambuddho. Sikhī, bhikkhave, bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho Puṇḍarikassa mūle abhisambuddho ti ādisu pi iminā va nayena² vaṇṇanā veditabbā.

Ettha pana *Puṇḍarīko* ti Setambarukkhho. Tassā pi tad eva parimāṇam. Taṃ divasaṃ ca so pi dibbagandhehi pupphehi susaṇchanno ahosi. Na kevalaṃ ca pupphehi. Phalehi pi saṇchanno ahosi. Tassa ekato taruṇāni phalāni ekato majjhimāni phalāni ekato nātīpakkāni ekato supakkāni pakkhittadibbojāni viya surasāni ojavantāni³ olambanti. Yathā so evaṃ sakaladasasahassacakkavāle pupphūpagā rukkhā pupphehi, phalūpagā rukkhā phalehi paṭimaṇḍitā ahesuṃ.

Sālo ti Sālarukkhho. Tassā pi tad eva parimāṇam. Tath' eva pupphasirivibhavo veditabbo. Sirisarukkhe pi es' eva nayo. Udumbara-rukkhe pupphāni nāhesuṃ. Phalavibhūti pan' ettha ambe vutta-nayā va. Tathā Nigrodh' eva tathā Assatth' evā ti.

Iti sabbabuddhānam eko va pallaṅko. Rukkhā pana aññe pi honti. Tesu yassa yassa rukkhassa mūle catumaggañāpasamphātāṃ bodhiṃ buddhā paṭivijjhanti so so Bodhi ti vuccati. Ayaṃ Bodhiparicchedo nāma.

9. Sāvakapariucchede pana. *Khaṇḍatissan* ti Khaṇḍo ca Tisso ca. Tesu Khaṇḍo ekapītiko kaniṭṭhabhātā, Tisso purohitaputto. Khaṇḍo paññāpāramiyā matthakaṃ patto, Tisso samādhipāramiyā⁴. *Aggaṇ* ti ṭhapetvā Vipassīṃ bhagavantam avaseschi saddhim asadisagunaṭāya uttamaṃ. *Bhaddayugan* ti aggatāy' eva bhaddayugaṃ.

Abhibhūsambhavan ti Abhibhū ca Sambhavo ca. Tesu Abhibhū paññā pāramiyā matthakaṃ patto. Sikhinā bhagavatā saddhim Aruṇavatito Brahmaloakaṃ gantvā Brahmaṃparisāya vividhāni pāṭihāriyāni dassento dhammaṃ desetvā⁵ dasasahassasiloka-dhātum andhakārena pharitvā kim idan ti sañjātasamvegānam obhāsaṃ pharitvā sabbe me rūpaṃ ca passantu saddaṃ ca suṇantū ti adhiṭṭhahitvā 'ārabhathā' ti gāthādvayaṃ bhaṇanto saddaṃ sāveti. Sambhavo samādhi-pāramiyā matthakaṃ patto ahosi.

Soṇuttaran ti Soṇo ca Uttaro ca. Tesu Soṇo paññā-pāramiṃ patto. Uttaro samādhi-pāramiṃ patto.⁶

1 B. -sampattāni

2 B. pada-

3 Si. & B. omit it

4 B. adds matthakaṃ patto

5 Si. omits dasa

6 S. omits it

Vidhūrasañjīvam ti Vidhūro ca Sanjīvo ca. Tesu Vidhūro paññā-pāramiṇ paṭto.¹ Sañjīvo samādhi-pāramiṇ paṭto samāpajjanabahulo rattitṭhāna-divāṭṭhāna-kuṭi-leṇa-maṇḍapādisu samāpattibalena vāya-manto² ekadivasam araṇṇe nirodhaṇ samāpajji. Atha naṃ vanakam-mikādayo mato ti sallakkhetvā jhāpesuṇ. So yathāparicchedena samāpattito vuṭṭhāya cīvarāni papphotetvā gāmaṇ piṇḍāva pāvisi. Tad' upādāy' eva ca³ naṃ Sañjīvo ti sañjāniṃsu.

Bhiyyosuttaran ti Bhiyyoso ca Uttaro ca. Tesu Bhiyyoso paññāya, Uttaro samādhinā aggo ahoṣi.

Tissabhāradvājan ti Tisso ca Bhāradvājo ca. Tesu Tisso paññā-pāramiṇ paṭto. Bhāradvājo samādhi-pāramiṇ paṭto ahoṣi.

Sāriputtamoggallānan ti Sāriputto ca Moggallāno ca. Tesu Sāri-putto paññāvisaye, Moggallāno samādhivisaye aggo ahoṣi. Ayam⁴ Aggasāvaka-yugaparicchedo nāma.

10. Sāvaka-sannipāta-paricchede Vipassissa bhagavato paṭhama-sannipāto caturaṅgiko ahoṣi. Sabbe ehi bhikkhū. Sabbe iddhiyā nibbatta pattacīvarā. Sabbe anāmantitā va āgatā. Iti⁵ te ca kho paṇṇarase uposathadivase. Atha satthā vijaniṇ gahetvā nisinno uposatham osāresi. Duttiye tatiye ca es' eva nayo. Tathā sesānaṇ buddhānaṇ sabbasannipātesu. Yasmā pana amhākaṇ bhagavato paṭhama-boḍhiyā va sannipāto ahoṣi idaṇ ca suttaṇ aparabhāge vuttaṇ tasmā mayhaṇ bhikkhave etarahi eko sāvakaṇaṇ sannipāto ti anitṭhapetvā ahoṣi ti vuttaṇ.

Tattha *aḍḍhatelasāni bhikkhusatāni* ti purāṇajaṭilānaṇ sahaṣsaṇ dvinnam aggasāvakaṇaṇ parivārāni aḍḍhateyyasatāni ti aḍḍhatelasasatāni.⁶ Tattha dvinnam aggasāvakaṇaṇ abhinīhārato paṭṭhāya vatthuaṇ kathetvā pabbajjā dīpetabbā. Pabbajitānaṇ pana tesu Mahāmoggallāno sattame divase arahattaṇ paṭto. Dhammasenāpati paṇṇarasame divase Gijjhakūṭapabbatamajjhe Sūkarakhata⁷-lenapabbhāre bhāgineyyassa Dīghanakhaparibbājakassa sajjite dhammayāge Vedanāpariggahasuttante desiyaṃāne desanānusārena⁸ anubujjhamānaññaṇ pesetvā sāvaka-pāramiññaṇ paṭto. Bhagavā therassa arahattappattiṇ ñatvā vehāsaṇ abbhuggantvā Veluvane va⁹ paccuṭṭhāsi.¹⁰ Thero kuhiṇ nu kho Bhagavā gato ti āvajjento Veluvane patiṭṭhitabhāvaṇ ñatvā sayam pi vehāsaṇ abbhuggantvā Veluvane yeva paccuṭṭhāsi. Atha Bhagavā

1 Si. & B. add ahoṣi

3 B. omits it

6 B. & Si. aḍḍhatelasāni bhikkhusatāni

8 B. & Si. desanaṇ

4 B. & Si. omit it

9 Si. & S. omit it

2 B. jhāyanto ; Si. yāpento

5 Si. omits it

7 S. -jāta-

10 Si. patiṭṭhāsi

Pātimokkham osāresi. Taṃ sannipātaṃ sandhāya Bhagavā 'adḍhateja sāni bhikkhusatānī' ti āha. Ayaṃ Sīvakasannipāta-paricchedo nāma.

11. Upaṭṭhākaparicchede pana *Anando* ti nibaddhupaṭṭhākabhāvaṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ. Bhagavato hi paṭhamabodhiyam anibaddhā¹ upaṭṭhākā ahesuṃ. Ekadā Nāgasamālo pattacīvaraṃ gahetvā vicari. Ekadā Nāgito. Ekadā Upavāṇo. Ekadā Sunakkhatto. Ekadā Cundo samanuddeso. Ekadā Sāgato. Ekadā Meghiyo.

Tattha ekadā Bhagavā Nāgasamālattherena saddhim addhāna-maggapaṭipanno dvedhāpathaṃ patto. Thero maggā okkamma 'Bhagavā aham iminā maggena gacchamī' ti āha. Atha naṃ Bhagavā 'ehi bhikkhu, iminā maggena gacchāmā' ti āha. So 'handā Bhagavā tumhākaṃ pattacīvaraṃ gaṇhatha, aham iminā maggena gacchāmī' ti vatvā pattacīvaraṃ bhūmiyaṃ² tṭhapetum āraddho. Atha naṃ Bhagavā 'āhara bhikkhū' ti vatvā pattacīvaraṃ gahetvā gato. Tassa pi bhikkhuno itarena maggena gacchato corā pattacīvaraṃ ceva hariṃsu sīsaṃ ca bhindīsu. So 'Bhagavā idāni me paṭisaraṇaṃ na añño' ti cintetvā lohiteṇa galiteṇa Bhagavato santikam āgami.³ 'Kim idaṃ bhikkhū' ti ca vutte taṃ pavattim ārocesi. Atha naṃ Bhagavā 'mā cintayī, bhikkhu, etaṃ kāraṇaṃ yeva taṃ⁴ nivārayimhā' ti vatvā taṃ samassāsesi.

Ekadā pana Bhagavā Meghiyattherena saddhim Pācīnavaṃsa-migadāye Jantugāmaṃ agamāsi. Tatrā pi Meghiyo Jantugāme piṇḍāya caritvā nadītīre pāsādikam ambavanaṃ disvā 'Bhagavā, tumhākaṃ pattacīvaraṃ gaṇhatha, ahaṃ tasmim ambavane samaṇadhammaṃ karomī' ti vatvā Bhagavatā tikkhattuṃ nivāriyamāno pi gantvā akusalavitakkehi ajjhāpanno⁵ paccāgantvā taṃ pavattim ārocesi. Tam pi Bhagavā 'idaṃ eva te kāraṇaṃ sallakkhetva nivārayimha' ti vatva anupubbena Sāvattim agamāsi.

Tattha Gandhakuṭipariveṇe paññattapavarabuddhāsane nisinno bhikkhusaṃghaparivuto bhikkhū āmantesi, 'bhikkhave, idāni' mhi mahallako, ekacce bhikkhu imina maggena gacchama ti vutte aññaṇa gacchanti ekacce mayhaṃ pattacīvaraṃ bhūmiyaṃ nikkipanti, mayhaṃ nibaddhupaṭṭhākam ekaṃ bhikkhuṃ jānāthā' ti. Bhikkhunaṃ dhammasaṃvego udapādi. Atha āyasmā Sāriputto utṭhāyāsanaṃ Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā 'ahaṃ bhante tumhe yeva patthayamāno satasahassakappādhikam asaṃkheyyaṃ pāramiyo pūrayim nanu mādiso mahāpañño uppaṭṭhāko nāma vaṭṭati, aham upaṭṭhahissāmī' ti āha.

1 Si. nibaddhā 2 B. & Si. chaṃḍiyyaṃ 3 B. agamāsi

4 Si. te ; B. etaṃ yeva kāraṇaṃ sallakkhetvā 5 B. upadduto anvāyanto ; Si. āsatto

Taṃ Bhagavā 'alaṃ Sāriputta yassaṃ disāyaṃ tvam na viharasi asuññā yeva¹ sā disā, tava ovādo buddhānaṃ ovāda-sadiso, na me tayā upatthāka-kiccam atthi² ti paṭikkhipi. Eten ev' upāyena Mahāmogallānaṃ ādiṃ katvā asītimahāsāvakaṃ utthahiṃsu. Te sabbe pi Bhagavā paṭikkhipi. Ānandatthero pana tuṇhi yeva nisīdi.

Atha naṃ bhikkhū evaṃ āhaṃsu, 'āvuso Ānanda bhikkhusaṃgho upatthākatthānaṃ yācati, tvam pi yācāhi³ ti. So āha 'yācitvā laddhupaṭthānaṃ nāma āvuso kidisaṃ hoti, kiṃ maṃ satthā na passati, sace rocessati Ānando maṃ upatthātū ti vakkhati⁴ ti. Atha Bhagavā 'na bhikkhave Ānando aññena ussāhetabbo, sayam eva jānitvā maṃ upatthahissati⁵ ti āha. Tato bhikkhū 'utthhehi āvuso Ānanda,⁶ Dasabalam upatthākatthānaṃ yācāhi⁷ ti āhaṃsu. ⁸Thero utthahitvā cattāro paṭikkhepe catasso ca āyācanā ti atthha vare yāci.

Cattāro paṭikkhepā nāma. Sace me¹ bhante Bhagavā attanā laddhaṃ paṇītaṃ cīvaraṃ na mayhaṃ dassati, piṇḍapātaṃ na dassati, ekagandhakūṭiyaṃ vasitūṃ na dassati, nimantanaṃ gahetvā na gamissati, evāhaṃ Bhagavantam upatthahissāmi² ti vatvā kiṃ³ pan' ettha Ānanda ādinavam addasā⁴ ti vutte sac' āhaṃ bhante imāni vatthūni labhissāmi bhavissanti me⁵ vattāro. Ānando Dasabalena laddhaṃ paṇīta-cīvaraṃ paribhuñjati piṇḍapātaṃ paribhuñjati ekagandhakūṭiyaṃ vasati ekato va niman-tanaṃ gacchati etam lābhaṃ labhanto Tathāgataṃ upatthāti, ko evaṃ upatthahato bhāro ti. Ime cattāro paṭikkhepe yāci.

Catasso āyācanā nāma. Sace bhante Bhagavā mayā gahitaṃ niman-tanaṃ gamissati, sacāhaṃ tiroatthā tirojanapadā Bhagavantaṃ datthum āgataparisāya āgatakkhaṇe yeva Bhagavantaṃ dassetūṃ lacchāmi, yadā me kaṅkhā uppajjati tasmiṃ yeva khaṇe Bhagavantam upasaṅkamitūṃ lacchāmi, yaṃ Bhagavā mayhaṃ parammukhā dhammaṃ deseti tam āgantvā mayhaṃ kathessati, evāhaṃ Bhagavantam upatthahissāmi ti vatvā kiṃ⁶ pan' ettha Ānanda ānisamsaṃ passasī ti vutte idha bhante saddhā kulaputtā Bhagavato okāsam alabhantā maṃ evaṃ vadanti 'sve bhante Ānando Bhagavatā saddhim amhākaṃ ghare bhikkhaṃ gaṇhey-yāthā⁷ ti sace bhante Bhagavā tattha na gamissati, icchitakkhaṇe yeva parisāṃ dassetūṃ kaṅkhaṇā ca vinodetūṃ okāsaṃ⁸ na lacchāmi bhavis-santi vattāro, kiṃ Ānando Dasabalaṃ upatthāti ettakam pi⁹ssa anuggahaṃ Bhagavā na karoti ti Bhagavato ca parammukhā maṃ pucchissanti 'ayam āvuso Ānanda gāthā idaṃ suttaṃ idaṃ jātaṃ kattha desitaṃ¹⁰ ti sac'

1 B. adds me

2 Si. & B. repeat these three words.

3 B. adds So

4 S. omits it

5 S. & B. kaṃ

6 B. passasi

7 Si. ca ; B. omits it

8 B. & Si. add vā

āhaṃ taṃ na sampādayissāmi bhavissanti vattūro, ettakam pi āvuso na jānāsi kasmā tvaṃ chāyā viya Bhagavantam avijahanto digharattaṃ vicarasi ti ten' āhaṃ parammukhā desitassā pi dhammassa puna kathanam icchāmi ti. Imā catasso āyācanā yāci.

Bhagavā pi tassa adāsī. Evam ime aṭṭha-vare gahetvā nibaddhupaṭṭhāko ahosi. Tass' eva ṭhānantarassatthāya kappasatasahassaṃ pūritānaṃ pāramīnaṃ phalaṃ pāpuṇi ti. Tam imassa nibaddhupaṭṭhākabhāvaṃ sandhāya 'mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi Ānando bhikkhu upaṭṭhāko aggupaṭṭhāko' ti āha. Ayam Upaṭṭhākaparicchedo nāma.

13. Pīti paricchedo uttānattho yeva. *Vihāraṃ pāvīsī* ti kasmā vihāraṃ¹ pāvīsī. Bhagavā kira ettakaṃ kathetvā cintesi 'na tāva mayā sattannaṃ buddhānaṃ vaṃso nīrantaraṃ matthakaṃ pāpetvā kathito, ajja² mayi pana vihāraṃ pavittṭhe ime bhikkhū bhiyyosomattāya pubbenivāsāññaṃ ārabba vaṇṇaṃ kathayissanti, athaham āgantvā nīrantaraṃ buddhavaṃsaṃ kathetvā matthakaṃ pāpetvā dassāmi' ti bhikkhunaṃ kathāvārassa okāsaṃ datvā utthāyāsanaṃ vihāraṃ pāvīsī. Yaṃ cetam Bhagavā tantuṃ kathesi tattha kappaparicchedo jātiparicchedo gottaparicchedo āyuparicchedo bodhiparicchedo sāvakayugaparicchedo sāvakasannipātaparicchedo upaṭṭhākaparicchedo pītiparicchedo ti nav' ime vārā āgatā. Sambahulavāro na āgato, ānetvā pana dīpetabbo.

Sabbabodhisattānaṃ hi ekasmiṃ kulavaṃsānurūpe putte jāte nikkhamitvā pabbajitabban ti ayam eva vaṃso ayaṃ pavenī. Kasmā? Sabbāññubodhisattānaṃ hi mātukucchiṃ okkamaṇato paṭṭhāya pubbe vuttappakarāni anekāni pāṭihāriyāni honti. Tattha nesaṃ yadī neva jātanagaraṃ na pitā na mātā³ na putto paññāyeyya imassa neva jātanagaraṃ na pitā⁴ na putto paññāyati devo vā sakko vā māro vā brahmā vā esa maññe devānaṃ ca idisaṃ pāṭihāriyam anacchariyaṃ ti maññamāno jano⁵ neva sotabbaṃ na saddahitabbaṃ maññeyya. Tato abhisamayo na bhaveyya, abhisamayā asati nīratthako buddhuppāda aniyyānikaṃ sāsaṇaṃ hoti tasmā sabbabodhisattānaṃ ekasmiṃ kulavaṃsānurūpe putte jāte nikkhamitvā pabbajitabban ti ayam eva vaṃso ayaṃ pavenī. Tasinā puttādīnaṃ vasena sambahulavāro ānetvā dīpetabbo. Tattha

Samavattakkhandho Atulo Suppabudho ca Uttaro ।

Satthavāho Vijitaseno Rāhulo bhavati sattamo ti. ॥

Eṭe tāva sattannaṃ pi buddhānaṃ⁶ anukkamen' eva satta puttā veditabbā, Tattha Rāhulabhadde tāva jāte paṇṇam āharitvā mahā-

1 B. & Si. omit it

2 S. omits it

3 Si. & B. bhariyā

4 B. & Si. add na bhariyā

5 S. omits it

6 B. bodhisattānaṃ

purisassa hatthe ṭhapayim̐su. Athassa tāvad eva sakalasarīraṃ khobhetvā puttasiṇeho aṭṭhāsi. So cintesi ekasmiṃ tāva jāte evarūpo puttasiṇeho parosahassam kira me puttā bhavissanti tesu eke¹ ekasmiṃ jāte imaṃ siṇehabandhanam evaṃ vaḍḍhantaṃ dubbhijjaṃ bhavissati ti Rāhulo jāto bandhanaṃ jātan ti āha. Taṃ divasam eva rajjaṃ pahāya nikkhanto. Esa nayo sabbesaṃ puttuppattiyaṃ ti. Ayaṃ Puttaparicchedo.

Sutanā Sabbakāmā ca Sucittā atha Rocanī²

Ruccatinī³ Sunandā ca Bimbā bhavati sattamā ti ||

Etā tesāṃ sattannam pi puttānaṃ mātaro ahesuṃ. Bimbā-devī pana Rāhulakumāre jāte Rāhulamātā ti paññāyittha. Ayaṃ Bhariyā-paricchedo.

Vipassī Kakusandho ti ime pana dve bodhisattā⁴ payutta-ājañña-ratham āruya mahābhinikkhamanaṃ nikkhamim̐su. Sikhī Konāgamaṇo ti ime dve hatthikkhandhavaragatā hutvā nikkhamim̐su. Vessa-bhū-bodhisatto⁵ suvaṇṇasivikāya nisīditvā nikkhami. Kassapo upari-pāsāda-mahātale nisinno va ānāpānacatutthajjhānaṃ nibbattetvā jhānā vuṭṭhāya taṃ jhānaṃ pādakaṃ katvā pāsādo gantvā⁶ bodhimaṇḍe otarātū ti adhiṭṭhāsi. Pāsādo ākāsaṇa gantvā bodhimaṇḍe otarī. Mahāpuriso pi tato otaritvā bhūmiyaṃ ṭhatvā pāsādo yathāṭhāne yeva patiṭṭhātū ti cintesi. So yathāṭhāne patiṭṭhāsi. Mahāpuriso pi sattadiva-sāni padhānam anuyuñjitvā bodhipallaṅke nisīditvā sabbaññuta-ñāṇaṃ⁷ paṭivijjhi. Amhākaṃ pana bodhisatto Kaṇṭhakam⁸ āruya nikkhanto ti. Ayaṃ Yānaparicchedo.

Vipassissa bhagavato yojanappamāṇe padese vihāro patiṭṭhito.⁹ Sikhissa ti-gāvute Vessabhussa aḍḍhayaṇe Kakusandhassa gāvute Konāgamanassa aḍḍhagāvute Kassapassa visati-usabhe amhākaṃ Bhagavato pakatimānena soḷasa karise rājamānena aṭṭha-karise padese vihāro patiṭṭhito ti. Ayaṃ Vihāraparicchedo nāma.

Vipassissa pana¹⁰ bhagavato ekaratanāyāmā vidatthivittārā aṭṭhaṅ-gulubbedhā suvaṇṇiṭṭhakā kāretvā cūḷaṃsena chādetvā vihāraṭṭhānaṃ kiṇim̐su. Sikhissa suvaṇṇayaṭṭhiphālehi chādetvā kiṇim̐su. Vessa-bhussa suvaṇṇahatthipādāni kāretvā tesāṃ cūḷaṃsena chādetvā kiṇim̐su. Kakusandhassa vuttanayen' eva suvaṇṇiṭṭhakāhi chādetvā kiṇim̐su. Konāgamanassa vuttanayen' eva suvaṇṇakacchapehi chādetvā kiṇim̐su. Kassapassa suvaṇṇakaḷiḥi¹¹ yeva chādetvā kiṇim̐su. Amhākaṃ ca Bhaga-

1 S. omits it

4 B. & Si. cha-yuttaṃ

7 B. & Si. omit it

9 B. & Si. patiṭṭhāsi

2 B. Rocinī

5 B. & Si. omit it

8 B. adds asravaraṃ; Si. adds hayavaraṃ

10 S. omits it

3 Si. & B. Rucaggati

6 B. uggantvā

11 B. -kaṭṭhi; Si. -iṭṭhakāhi

vato salakkhaṇānaṃ kaḥāpanānaṃ cūlaṃsena chādetvā kiṇṇṇsu. Ayaṃ Vihārabhūmigaṇe paricchedo.

Tattha Vipassissa bhagavato tathā bhūmiṃ kiṇṇtvā vihāraṃ katvā dinnupaṭṭhāko Punabbasumitto nāma ahoṣi. Sikhissa bhagavato¹ Sirivaddho nāma. Vessabhussa Sotthiyo nāma. Kakusandhassa Accuto nāma. Koṇāgamanassa Uggo nāma. Kassapassa Sumano nāma. Amhākaṃ pana Bhagavato Sudatto nāma. Sabbe c' ete gaḥapati mahā-sālā seṭṭhino ahesun ti. Ayaṃ Upaṭṭhāka-paricchedo nāma.

Aparāṇi cattāri avijahitaṭṭhānāni nāma honti. Sabbabuddhānaṃ hi bodhipallaṅko avijahito ekasmiṃ yeva ṭhāne hoti. Dhammacakkappavattanaṃ Isipatane migadāye avijahitaṃ eva hoti. Devoroḥaṇakāle Saṃkassanagaradvāre paṭhamapādagandhikā² avijahitā va hoti. Jetavane Gandhakūṭiyā cattāri maṇcapādaṭṭhānāni avijahitāṇ' eva honti. Vihāro pana khuddako pi mahanto pi hoti. Vihāro pi na vijahati yeva. Nagaraṃ pana vijahati. Yadā nagaraṃ pācīnato hoti tadā vihāro pacchimato. Yadā nagaraṃ dakkhiṇato tadā vihāro uttarato. Yadā nagaraṃ pacchimato tadā vihāro pācīnato. Yadā nagaram uttarato tadā vihāro dakkhiṇato ti. Idāni pana nagaram uttarato vihāro dakkhiṇato.

Sabbabuddhānaṃ ca āyuvemattaṃ pamāṇavemattaṃ kulavemattaṃ padhānavemattaṃ rasmivemattaṃ ti pañca vemattāni honti. Āyuvemattaṃ nāma keci dīghāyukā honti keci appāyukā. Tathā hi Dīpaṅkarassa vassasatasahassam āyuppanāṇam ahoṣi. Amhākaṃ Bhagavato vassasataṃ.³ Pamāṇavemattaṃ nāma keci dīghā honti keci rassā. Tathā hi Dīpaṅkaro asīti hattho ahoṣi. Sumano navutihattho, amhākaṃ pana Bhagavā aṭṭhārasahattno. Kulavemattaṃ nāma keci khattiyakule nibbattanti, keci brāhmaṇakule. Padhānavemattaṃ nāma kesaṇ ci padhānam⁴ uttarakālam eva notī yathā Kassapassa bhagavato. Kesaṇ ci addhaniyaṃ yathā amhākaṃ bhagavato. Rasmivemattaṃ nāma Sumaṅgalassa⁵ bhagavato sarīra-rasmiṃ dasasahasīlokadhātuppanāṇā ahoṣi. Amhākaṃ bhagavato samantā byāma-mattā. Tatra rasmivemattaṃ ajjhāsaya paṭibaddhaṃ. Yo yattakam icchati tassa tattakaṃ sarīrappabhā pharati. Sumaṅgalassa⁶ pana niccaṃ pi dasasahasīlokadhātuṃ pharatū ti ajjhāsayo ahoṣi. Paṭividdhaguṇesu pana katthaci⁷ vemattaṃ nāma natthi.

Aparam amhākaṃ yeva bhagavato saha jātaparicchedaṇi ca nakkhatta-paricchedaṇi ca dīpesuṃ. Sabbaññu-bodhisattena kira saddhiṃ Rāhula-

1 B. & Si. omit it

2 B. -pada-gaṇḍikā

3 B. adds āyuppanāṇam

4 B. & Si. iṭṭhara-

5 B. & Si. Maṅgalassa

6 B. & Si. kassaci

7 Si. -kumbhī; B. -kumbho

